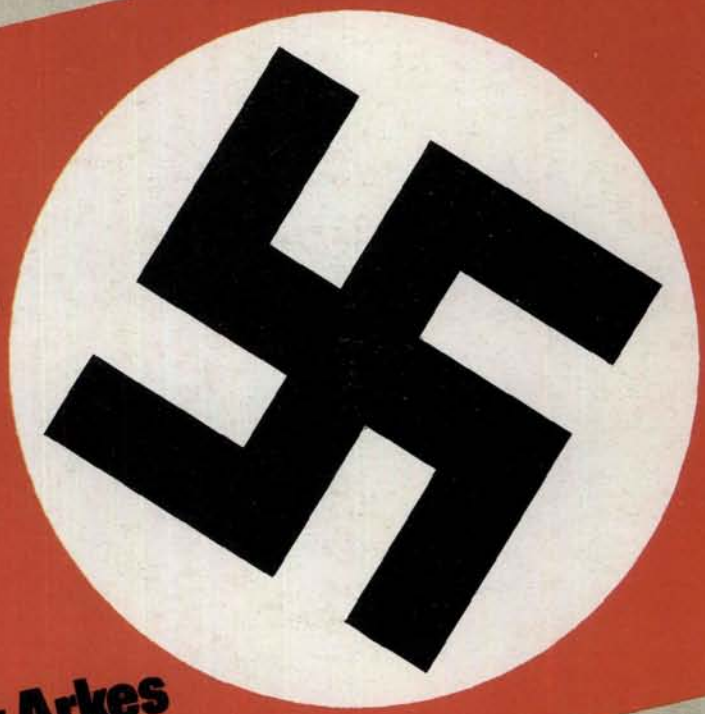
CE $1.00

MAY 12, 1978

ames Burnham:
AS CARTER RIGHT
ON THE N-BOMB?

NATIONAL REVIEW

Marching Through Skokie



An Analysis by Hadley Arkes

VIETNAM AFTER THREE YEARS:
Looking Back on a Lost Opportunity - Colin S. Gray

M SMTH020E- 037 7810 - 1 42 -

MR E ROY SMITH
20 BELLE AIR RD
COLORADO SPGS CO 80906

M. STANTON EVA... EVIEWS OF
VIDAL, JOHN LUK... S BY JOHN
SIMON, D. KEITH MANO, CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR., VICTOR GOLD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Just because I work for an oil company doesn't mean I like dirty beaches."

"Some of my friends actually seem to think that anybody who works for an oil company likes dead birds and dirty beaches," says Gulf Drilling Superintendent Bob Eslinger.

"Of course, I don't, any more than you do. But I like having a car and a warm house for my family. And those things take energy.

"I honestly think you can have both energy and a good environment, if you try to do things right. And a lot of things are being done right.

Three out of 20,000

"For instance, since the early 1940's, the oil industry drilled 20,000 oil and gas wells in the Gulf of Mexico—and has had only three major oil spills in all that time. That's a pretty good record. And in each case, after a year's time, you'd never know there had been an oil spill.

We're finding ways

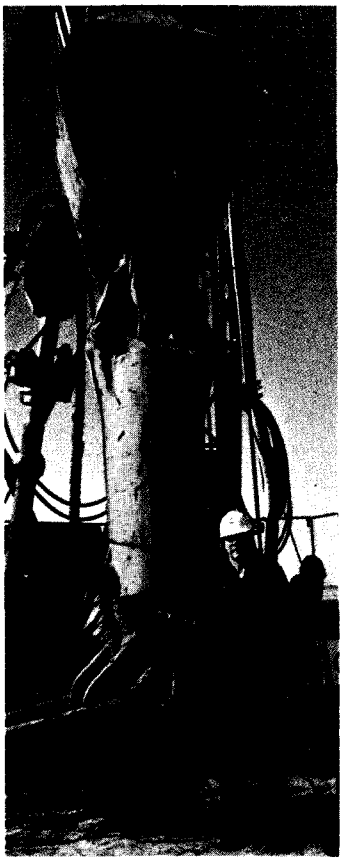
"I'm proud of my company—Gulf Oil—because I know firsthand a lot of the things Gulf does, and the precautions we take, to get the energy and preserve the environment. Like relandscaping old surface mines. And helping industry find ways to eliminate pollution.

"Probably you can't expect oil companies and environmentalists ever to agree completely. But you don't need complete agreement to make something work.

"Gulf and the other oil companies are making a lot of things work to get the energy we need and protect the environment. It's a tremendous challenge, and I think we're handling it pretty well."

Gulf

Gulf people: meeting the challenge.



"I think you can have both energy and a good environment, if you try to do things right."

"That's me, my wife Britt, and my son Erick at Matagorda Beach. We come here as often as we can."

Gulf Oil Corporation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IBM Reports

Information: a matter of life.

When firemen respond to a blaze in Wichita, Kansas, they are likely to know in advance if there are any invalids in the residence who will need special help. The fire department's computer system provides instant information about where any of 400 invalids in the city live—information that can be relayed to firemen while they are speeding to the fire.

A citizen with an emergency telephones the police department in Hampton, Virginia. A computer-based dispatch system, which helps police handle some 250 calls daily, brings patrolmen to the scene anywhere within a 54-square-mile area in an average of seven or eight minutes—half the time it formerly took.

A patient complaining of chest pains is admitted to a small hospital in a remote Texas community. Electrocardiogram tests are taken and the results transmitted to a medical center in Houston. A computer-analyzed report comes back in minutes. Proper treatment can begin at once.

Concerned action becomes possible

Increasingly, in communities throughout the nation, the difference between life and death or injury is the same: information... information made possible, and usable, by modern technology.

Information technology is IBM's business: providing products, from modern computers to advanced office systems, to record information, store it, process it, retrieve it and communicate it.

Declining costs spur wider use

There are hundreds of companies in the information technology industry, and they are constantly developing new and better products—driving down the cost of using information technology at a startling rate. For example, just 10 years ago, it cost $25 per month to store a million characters of information in an advanced IBM direct access storage system. Today it costs 50 cents.

It is this kind of progress that has made it practical for many more fire departments, police departments, hospitals and other organizations to take advantage of information technology and put it to use in new and caring ways.

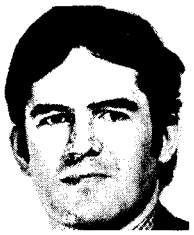
In its research, and in the stream of products that flows from that research, IBM is searching for—and finding—still better ways to help put information to work for people.

IBM

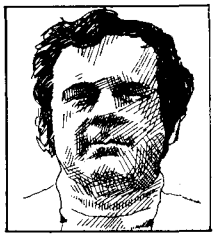
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

MAY 12, 1978
VOL. XXX, No. 19
ISSN: 0028-0038



GRAY
Page 580



MANO
Page 599

ARKES
Page 588

KING
Page 594

EVANS
Page 595

BUCKLEY
Page 610

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

579 **The President and the Bomb**
Jimmy Carter may not be our worst President, and his postponement of N-bomb production may not be a bad decision.
James Burnham

580 **Looking Back on a Lost Opportunity**
The American effort in Vietnam was flawed by illogic: because our stake in the war was limited, our leaders reasoned, therefore our military support for the South should be proportionally limited. That kind of thinking leads, at best, to stalemate—at worst, to what we got. *Colin S. Gray*

588 **Marching through Skokie**
Backed by the ACLU and the Illinois Supreme Court, America's Nazis are claiming a constitutional right to affront survivors of the death camps. The First Amendment, it is said, doesn't distinguish between "popular" and "despised" ideas: that discrimination is left to the individual, and the state must never presume to judge. This line of argument, however, ignores the intent of the Framers, the history of judicial interpretation, and rationality itself.
Hadley Arkes

594 **Ecumenists at Work**
At Rome's Centro Anglicano, the reunion of Christendom proceeds patiently, quietly, but with its own urgency. *Nicholas King*

595 **Incentives against Inflation**
As the dollar is cheapened, we all move into higher tax brackets. What's to be done?
M. Stanton Evans

BOOKS ARTS & MANNERS

596 **Historical Consciousness**
John Lukacs' *1945: Year Zero* views Stalin as a rather conservative conqueror, and the cold war as the result of a "gigantic misunderstanding." *Chilton Williamson Jr.*

598 **Strictly for Grunts**
Herbert Schandler's examination of *The Unmaking of a President: Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam* is a scholarly quagmire of a book. *S. K. Oberbeck*

599 **Gnomic Naïve**
William Saroyan's latest (i.e., eighth) memoir makes one hope he'll develop amnesia. *D. Keith Mano*

600 **His Own Worst Enemy**
Gore Vidal is now repeating things that were hardly worth saying to begin with.
Maureen Bodo

601 **Creeping Shabbiness**
Remember the scene in *Citizen Kane* when Orson Welles panned his wife's opera debut? Pauline Kael has forgotten.
John Simon

602 **What Refugee Problem?**
A documentary on Arcadia, a/k/a the New Vietnam. *M. J. Sobran Jr.*

604 **Watching Big Brother**
A trenchant, non-ideological assault on television's amorality: Rose Goldsen's *The Show-and-Tell Machine.* *Victor Gold*

604 **Virginia Gentlemen**
Notes on a family still. *Richard Brookhiser*

558 **Letters**
564 **For the Record**
566 **The Week**
607 **Dark Horses**
610 **On the Right**
612 **Trans-O-Gram**
586 help!!!

Cover design by James W. O'Bryan

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except for one issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 50 Emmett St., Bristol, Conn. Second-class postage paid at Bristol, Conn.

© National Review, Inc., 1978.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile.

RATES: $34.00 a year ($19.00 for the 48-page issues, and $15.00 for 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). Add $2.00 for Canada, $4.00 for other foreign subscriptions, per year. The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better a stamped, self-addressed envelope, is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the view of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor*

William A. Rusher *Publisher*

James P. McFadden *Associate Publisher*

Editors
James Burnham / Jeffrey Hart
M. J. Sobran Jr.

Priscilla L. Buckley *Managing Editor*
Linda Bridges *Assistant Managing Editor*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*

Contributing Editors
Ruth Berenson
John R. Coyne Jr. *(Washington)*
W. H. von Dreele
M. Stanton Evans
Ernest van den Haag
Norman B. Hannah / Nika Hazelton
James Jackson Kilpatrick
Kevin Lynch *(Articles)*
D. Keith Mano / Malachi B. Martin
Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker
Francis Russell / John Simon
Chilton Williamson Jr.
(Books, Arts, & Manners)

Associates
Richard Brookhiser
Paul Gigot / Carol B. Learsy
Jane Buckley Smith
Jeanne Wacker Sobran
Timothy J. Wheeler

Robin Wu *Research Director*
James W. O'Bryan *Art Director*
Anna Lieber *Production Editor*
John K. Syze *Circulation Manager*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.

Assistant Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr.
David Brudnoy / John Chamberlain
Jack Chatfield / Samuel T. Cohen
Miles Copeland
Neal Freeman / Victor Gold
John Greenway / Henry Hazlitt
John Kiley / Nicholas King
Suzanne La Follette / Mary Martínez
Forrest McDonald
Vincent Miller / Ferdinand Mount
George Nash / Gerhart Niemeyer
Daniel Oliver
Morrie Ryskind / William S. Schlamm
Ralph de Toledano
S. L. Varnado
Charles Wallen Jr.
George F. Will / Peter P. Witonski
Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Taki Theodoracopulos *Athens*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Nena Ossa *Santiago*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*

*

Letters

Looking Back

I found Jeffrey Hart's thesis ["New Directions: Catholics and Jews," April 28] as to why Catholic intellectuals are moving to the left while Jewish intellectuals are moving to the right to be fascinating and —although I'm a bit wary of sociological explanations for ideological beliefs—convincing.

The last section of the article, though —the analysis of the nature of Marxism— is another matter. If I did not know that Mr. Hart is an eighteenth century scholar, I would understand him to be saying here that Marxism is bad not because of what it proclaims, and not because of what its followers have done, but because it is pre-twentieth century! By that reasoning, half of what we hold most dear (and I speak here not only for conservatives, but for anyone who doesn't believe that Western civilization began the day before yesterday) would be "a dead weight inherited from the past, an excrescence, dated . . ." And what becomes then of Chesterton's "democracy of the dead"?

Listen to the terms in which Mr. Hart dismisses Marxism: "Marxism is musty, heavy, old-fashioned, Victorian, spiritually primitive, tasteless." It sure is; but if that were the worst that could be said of it, the world would be much better off today than it actually is.

Boston, Mass. H. W. Topler

Gay Rights

M. J. Sobran Jr. ["Gay Rights and Conservative Politics," March 17] did a thoughtful, brilliant analysis of the homosexual issue as it is presented today. He hit the nail on the head with two sentences: a) "It ['official Minority status'] is not a demand for freedom or even for equal treatment, but for privilege at the expense of everybody else's freedom." And b) "As long as education is public I will care what it promotes at my expense."

Patricia Bloom Brady

North Tarrytown, N.Y.

M. J. Sobran Jr. has one of the clearest minds in the business, and with civility to match. No small asset there! I think I agree with almost everything he said in his essay on gay rights and conservative politics. What bothered me is what he did *not* say.

In my opinion, Sobran neglected Jere Real's main point: that conservatives are showing themselves to be too eager in yielding to the temptation to demagoguery which this issue inevitably can foster. Someone in the conservative movement should drive home the point that such demagoguery not only reveals a mean-spiritedness unbecoming to arguments based on moral principles, but also is ultimately self-defeating. Real mentions the hidden numbers of homosexual conservatives, but more crucial here is the inevitable (long-term) failure of demagoguery and irrational appeals in American politics. Think of the damage done to anti-Communism by McCarthyism and all its attendant incivilities.

In this context, it would help if someone at *NR* would issue a resounding condemnation of Viguerie's mail-order slurs on Representative John Anderson's vote against an amendment prohibiting federally funded lawyers from defending homosexuals. The amendment is merely an ugly little attempt to force congressmen into looking like they're "for" homosexuality, thereby facilitating the spreading of innuendo. Conservatives with a sense of history (not to mention humane respect for reputations) will reject such pettiness out of hand.

Berkeley, Calif. Edward T. Oakes, SJ

Correction

The Davis-Bacon Act does not "require proportional minority hiring" (the phrase inserted in my piece ["What Humphrey-Hawkins Won't Do," April 28] by someone at National Review). It requires payment of wage rates at or above minima set for various categories of workers on federal construction projects and on federally assisted projects.

Chicago, Ill. Yale Brozen

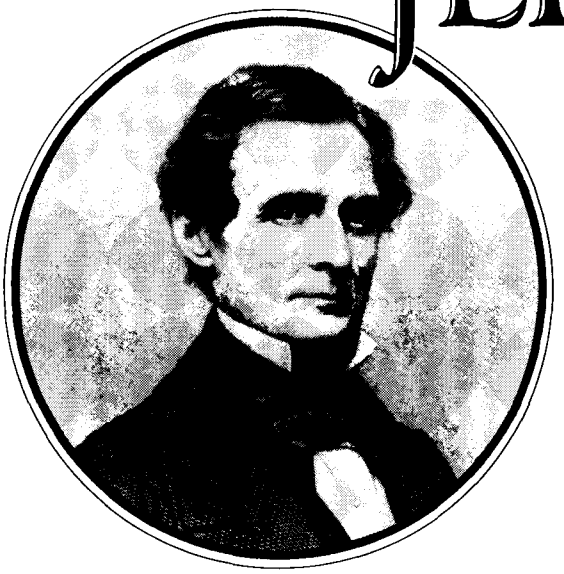
Anti-Agit-Prop

Professor Roche, it seems to me, errs ["Letters," April 28] in asserting that Bukovsky, Navrozov, and other émigré critics of RFE/RL "fundamentally want [them] to encourage rebellions in the Soviet Union." On the contrary, their hope—quixotic, perhaps—is that a free flow of information and discussion would lead to an evolutionary change of the Soviet system. Broadcasts, Navrozov writes, "should not be addressed exclusively to the lower strata of Russia. Most beneficial transformations of absolutism into civic society occurred in Japan, pre-1917 Russia, and Denmark owing to the initiatives of the upper echelons of absolutist power. A Western radio station . . . should disseminate social knowledge useful and interesting to all strata and educating everyone from the Politburo to remote villagers."

Bukovsky even more explicitly rejects crude counterrevolution: "The tragedy of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JEFFERSON DAVIS



Born 1808.

Died 1889.

Finally understood, 1978.

Now, in the first biography of Jefferson Davis in more than twenty-five years, Clement Eaton gives us a revealing portrait of one of the least understood figures in American history—a man who was admired, hated, revered, and scorned.

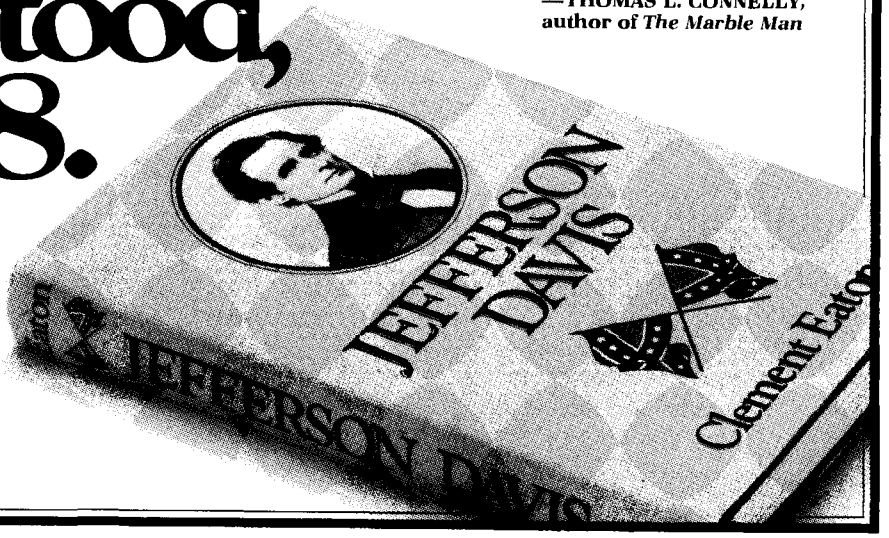
Was Davis responsible for the collapse of the Confederacy?...How did he feel about slavery? The Old South? Secession? Women?...What were his important strengths—and weaknesses?

With compassion and rare insight, Clement Eaton's *Jefferson Davis* recreates a critical era in America's past—and sheds new light on the man who was called "the Sphinx of the Confederacy."

"First-rate....a brilliant book."
—BRUCE CATTON, Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award winner for *A Stillness at Appomattox*

"Unquestionably the best modern biography of the President of the Confederacy."
—DAVID HERBERT DONALD, Pulitzer Prize winner for *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*

"A splendid and concise analysis."
—THOMAS L. CONNELLY, author of *The Marble Man*



Jefferson Davis
by Clement Eaton /$12.50

MACMILLAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

By popular demand:
NOW AVAILABLE
In handy reprint form

JOHN T. NOONAN'S
The New Phase in the Abortion Battle

Abortion may well be the hottest social issue in America today: it tied up the U.S. Congress for a full six months last year (the "Hyde" Amendment); it fills court calendars, the major media -- even local newspapers -- with controversial charges and countercharges. So we should not have been surprised when we ran Prof. John T. Noonan's update on the abortion dilemma (NR, March 3) that we had so many requests for reprints that our small supply of extra issues was quickly exhausted. To meet this demand, we have now reprinted the article in handy reprint format. Many readers think it is the *best* article on abortion available anywhere right now. (Noonan, a recognized authority on the subject, is also a hard-hitting writer. He not only explains in detail what's been happening, but also predicts the future course of the still-growing abortion struggle.) You can order your own copies now by using the coupon below.

(Please enclose payment with order: we pay all postage and handling. Bulk prices on request.)

Single copies ..... *50¢ each*

25 copies *$10.00*

100 copies *$25.00*

USE THIS COUPON TO ORDER

NATIONAL REVIEW
Dept. R • 150 E.35 St. • New York, N.Y. 10016

Please send me_____copies of Prof. John T. Noonan's article *The New Phase in the Abortion Battle,* for which I enclose $_____.

Name _____

Address_____

City_____State_____Zip_____

Please make all checks payable to:
NATIONAL REVIEW, INC.

information [in the USSR] is that Soviet propaganda coins fascists. Blatant lies repeated from day to day, blatant violence to and mockery of the truth, do cause—even in sufficiently developed intellects—a desire to reciprocate with violence. Very few understand that all violence leads to Bolshevism in all its forms. . . . Under such conditions, a simple broadening of information, 'filling in the blanks,' is not conducive to political thinking and ripening." Bukovsky goes on to urge that RL's listeners be exposed to political debates—not only East-West, but among Western points of view—as well as information.

New York, N.Y. RICHARD BROOKHISER

Duck!

Regarding the article "SALT and the Public Law" [by S. T. Cohen and E. F. Black, Jan. 20]: As a deeply concerned and highly curious citizen, I sent for the U.S. Government Printing Office's bibliography on "Disaster Preparedness and Civil Defense."

There were lots of titles such as *Disaster Diet* and *A Pocket Guide to Cold Water Survival*, but, to my horror, only two on public civil-defense measures. The first such title was: *Radiation Shielding, Analysis, and Design Principles as Applied to Nuclear Defense Planning*. Just what one needs if one is putting up an office building under a federal contract.

I will quote here the entire text of the second civil defense entry: "*Civil Defense: A Soviet View*. Translated from its original Russian, this 1970 USSR publication was intended as a textbook in civil defense for college and university students in the Soviet Union. Although some of the information is dated, it is still regarded in the Soviet Union as providing an especially comprehensive treatment of Soviet civil defense doctrine, organization, and measures for the present decade, and therefore comprises an accurate overview of the Soviet program for war survival."

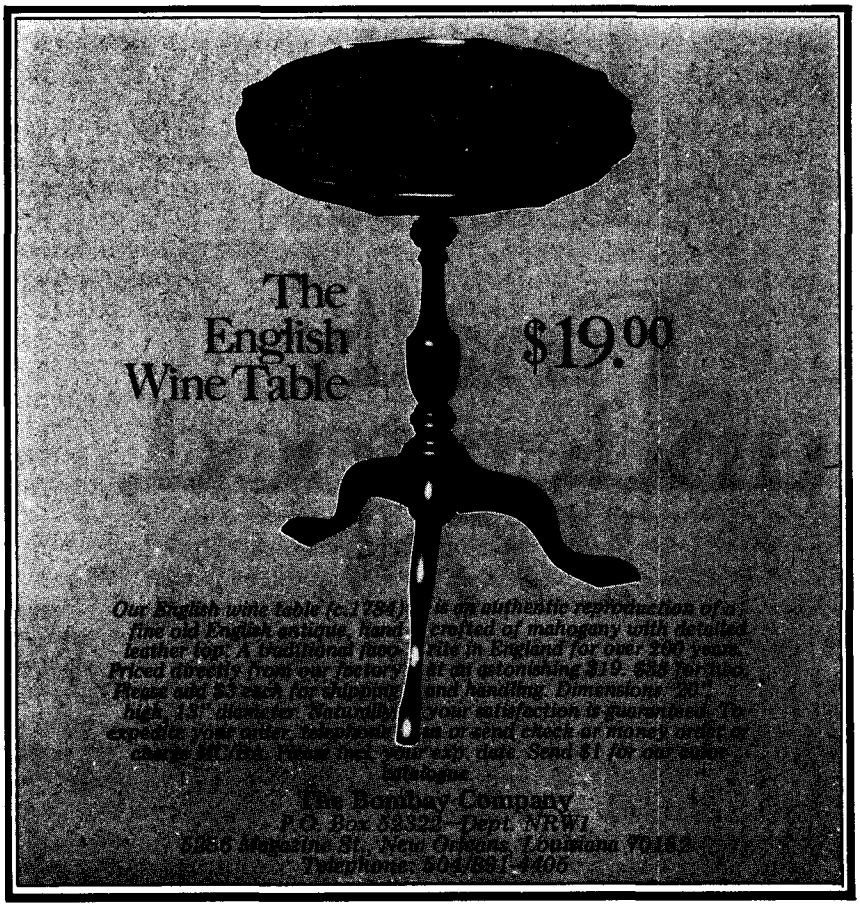
The only serious U.S. Government publication on civil defense is a translation of a Soviet work! Some of which is dated! Does anyone besides me feel unprotected?

Seattle, Wash. DARRYL DAVIS

Objection

While Richard Brookhiser's reportorial talent is not in question, I was surprised by his adjective next to my name: "the 'socialist' Thomas Molnar" ["What's to Be Done?" April 28].

My friends know better, but let me specify that I am not a socialist, even in quotation marks. The question I addressed to Mr. Stephen Haseler, a social democrat, after his speech at the Philadelphia Society meeting suggested that men like Helmut Schmidt, Mario Soares, and Bruno Kreisky (but not Olof Palme or Mitterrand!)—in-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

3 FOR 89¢

VALUES TO $69.40

361 THE POWER OF THE POSITIVE WOMAN —*Phyllis Schlafly*. Inspiring alternative to Women's Lib: the Positive Woman. $8.95

356 THE CAPITALIST READER. 14 giants (Mises, Hayek, Friedman, Rand, Boehm-Bawerk, etc.) show why capitalism works best. $9.95

173 DID YOU EVER SEE A DREAM WALKING? Wm. F. Buckley collects 23 brilliant spokesmen for conservatism. Over 600 pages. $8.50

514 MY ANSWER TO THE MOSCOW ATHEISTS — *Rev. Richard Wurmbrand*. Famed anti-Communist minister proves the existence of God. $7.95

LITURGICAL REVOLUTION— *Michael Davies*

530 Vol. 1: *Cranmer's Godly Order*. How the Catholic Mass became the Lord's Supper in 16th-century England. $7.95

532 Vol. 2: *Pope John's Council*. How liberals worked their will. $9.95

516 TEXTBOOKS ON TRIAL — *J. C. Hefley*. The rot fed to our children, and what you can do. $6.95

540 A CRITIQUE OF INTERVENTIONISM— *Ludwig von Mises*. First time in English. $8.95

518 INSIDE THE KGB—*Aleksei Myagkov*. Exciting account by highest-ranking KGB counterspy ever to defect. $7.95

306 HOW TO TUTOR—*S. L. Blumenfeld*. This guide *works*. 117 reading lessons, 73 writing lessons, 67 arithmetic lessons. $9.95

367 BUILDERS OF THE AMERICAN DREAM —*J. K. Fitzpatrick*. Warm portraits of 13 heroes: Washington, Eddie Rickenbacker, Lee, Lincoln, MacArthur, Lindbergh, etc. $9.95

528 THE CRITICS OF KEYNESIAN ECONOMICS. Henry Hazlitt assembles rebuttals by 22 masters: Hayek, Mises, Rueff, Roepke, Hutt, etc. $9.95

71 THE UNMAKING OF A MAYOR—*Wm. F. Buckley*. Sparkling rundown of 1965 campaign. $9.95

369 THE ASSAULT ON THE SEXES—*Jim & Andrea Fordham*. Witty traditional look at the Unisex Society. $9.95

548 THE 1978 INSIDER'S BANKING AND CREDIT ALMANAC — *Mark Skousen*. Make *extra* thousands on your bank accounts. $12.95

343 HOME OF THE BRAVE—*John A Carroll & Odie B. Faulk*. A wonderfully readable history of America for *patriots*. Richly illustrated. Over 400 pages. $12.95

149 PLAYING THE PRICE CONTROLS GAME —*Mark Skousen*. How to outwit, even profit from, the coming controls—*legally*. $9.95

494 THE HOLY BIBLE—Family Reading Edition. Rich in valuable features: 67 color paintings by the great Tissot; 16 pages of daily Bible readings; Family Record Section; 106-page Concordance and Cyclopedia of Bible Facts; gold page edges and stamping; over 1,200 pages; large type; 7¾ x 9½ luxury size; weighs 3 lbs., 15 oz.; quick guidance on what Bible teaches—over 300 subjects; *much* more! King James Version. $16.50

478 LENIN IN ZURICH—*Alexander Solzhenitsyn*. "Masterly fusion of history, biography and the novelist's art."—*Publishers Weekly*. "A fine literary achievement." — *Wall St. Journal*. $8.95

180 McCARTHY & HIS ENEMIES—*Wm. F. Buckley & L. Brent Bozell*. Balanced, objective, best book on the subject. 444 pages. $9.95

337 THE LAST KENNEDY — *Robert Sherrill*. Teddy, Chappaquiddick and the big cover-up. "Devastating." — *Library Journal*. "A small, sardonic masterpiece."—*N.Y. Times*. $8.95

672 THE COMING BREAKPOINT—*Barry Goldwater*. "I do think the nation has less than ten years . . ."—then Barry shows why. $8.95

488 JESUS CHRIST BEFORE HE BECAME A SUPERSTAR—*J. K. Fitzpatrick*. Brilliant young writer refutes the updaters—with the words of Jesus Himself. $7.95

496 IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF JESUS — *W. E. Pax (Institute of Bible Research, Jerusalem)*. Beautiful word-and-picture journey. 122 gorgeous photographs—68 in breathtaking full color. Oversized 8½ x 10. Printed throughout on rich coated stock. Informative text throws new light on the Gospel narratives. $19.95

462 THE COMING DEFLATION: ITS DANGERS — AND OPPORTUNITIES — *C. V. Myers*. The famed financial maverick delivers a sobering message. $8.95

470 THE COLLAPSE OF DEMOCRACY — *Robert Moss*. "An intellectual and political event of the first importance."— *National Review*. $9.95

358 CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY: Vol. 1 — *Murray N. Rothbard*. Readable libertarian history of colonial America. $15.00

458 CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY: Vol. 2—*Murray N. Rothbard*. The American colonies, 1710-1763. "Even better [than the first excellent volume]."—*Modern Age*. $12.95

476 CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY: Vol. 3 — *Murray N. Rothbard*. The colonies just before Independence, 1760-75. $12.95

15 SUICIDE OF THE WEST—*James Burnham*. What makes liberals that way? This classic gives the best answers yet. $7.95

EXTRA FREE GIFT

in addition to your 3 for 89¢—when you join the Conservative Book Club and agree to buy 4 books at Club discount prices over the next 18 months

CONSERVATIVE VOTES, LIBERAL VICTORIES

by Patrick J. Buchanan

Straight talk from the brilliant columnist: why conservatives should be winning, but aren't. $7.95

364 DOUBLE YOUR MONEY EVERY 3 YEARS—*Gerald Appel*. Giant encyclopedia of financial plans for every investment need. $25.00

426 TRADING SILVER — PROFITABLY — *D. Turner & S. H. Blinn*. 13 computer-tested methods—but none for the fainthearted. $11.95

438 FROM UNDER THE RUBBLE—*Alexander Solzhenitsyn*. The greatest writer of our time joins six other dissidents to score Red tyranny —and Western liberalism. $8.95

377 HOW YOU CAN BEAT THE KILLER DISEASES—Harold W. Harper, M.D. & Michael L. Culbert. New nutritional approaches that can help you live better—and longer. $8.95

452 LIBERAL PARENTS, RADICAL CHILDREN—Midge Decter. "Right on target . . . feisty, fighting book . . . splendid stimulus to a critically needed self-examination."—*Wall St. Journal*. $7.95

422 THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE — *C. Gregg Singer*. Outspoken history of the National Council of Churches. $11.95

36 JFK: THE MAN & THE MYTH—*Victor Lasky*. Classic political biography, and still the best on Kennedy and the Clan. $12.95

432 HOW THE EXPERTS BUY AND SELL GOLD BULLION, GOLD STOCKS & GOLD COINS—*James E. Sinclair & Harry D. Schultz*. How to profit in up *and* down markets. $8.95

296 THE FAILURE OF THE "NEW ECONOMICS"—*Henry Hazlitt*. Definitive refutation of Keynes. $11.95

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

165 Huguenot Street, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801

Please send me FREE *Conservative Votes, Liberal Victories* plus the 3 books whose numbers I have entered below:

Bill me for only 89¢ for all 4, plus shipping, and enter my membership in the Conservative Book Club—the only book club expressly for political conservatives. I agree to buy 4 more books in the next 18 months from among more than 150 to be offered—books on politics, investing, religion, social issues, Communism, economics, conservative ideas, history, etc. Membership entitles me to a free subscription to the Club Bulletin, which brims with book bargains and offers me opportunities to get in touch with my fellow members. I am eligible to buy Club books at discounts that range from 20% to 50% plus shipping. If I want a Selection, I do nothing; it will come automatically about a month later. If I don't want a Selection, or if I prefer one of the several Alternates, I simply inform you on the handy form always provided. I'll be offered a new Selection every 24 days—15 times a year. If due to late mail delivery I get a Selection without having had 10 days to decide if I want it, I may return it at Club expense.

NR 638

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Freedom to change, Brady style

BRADY

™ ADHESIVE AND GRAPHICS CHEMISTRY

Despite the many ways government at all levels increasingly intrudes in our business and personal lives, we still enjoy more freedom than most of the rest of the world.

Like *freedom to change,* just as Brady has recently done with its own corporate identity. In order to make businessmen more clearly aware of who we are, and what we do, two steps have been taken.

• First, development of a new corporate signature, logo, symbol and slogan. You see it above, and you'll soon be seeing it in our ads, packaging, letterheads, signs, and calling cards.

• Second, a colorful new corporate brochure that tells you who we are, how we got started and what we make, and where we make and sell it. We'll be pleased to send you a copy.

Brady LiteTouch™ low voltage membrane switches combine contemporary graphics and solid state electronic technology in a sealed package. Just one of many innovative Brady products for industry and business. Perhaps you'll see a place to put Brady to work in your company as you review our new corporate brochure.

WBC-6

BRADY

™ ADHESIVE AND GRAPHICS CHEMISTRY

W. H. BRADY CO.
727 W. Glendale Avenue
P. O. Box 571, Milwaukee, WI 53201

deed Haseler himself—often seem to warn and protect the West against Communism better than conservatives, capitalists, and assorted rightists. There was Kerensky, I know; but since then some "Mensheviks," exposed for sixty years to the hot breath of Bolshevism, have learned their lesson. In the recent French elections vast numbers of socialist voters refused to abide by the Marchais-Mitterrand deal; the German socialists helped Soares to get rid of Cunhal; the socialist international made at least an attempt to keep Angola out of Moscow's embrace; and so on.

These observations do not make of me an adept of the socialist ideology. They do show my nostalgia for a more courageous and active conservatism. I think many people share my feeling.

New York, N.Y. THOMAS MOLNAR

Randomly

In the "Random Notes" column [Jan. 6] you refer to Roger MacBride as "the perennial Libertarian candidate for President." Now I'm sure you are aware that labels such as this carry with them overtones of persistent futility, à la Harold Stassen. But, if Libertarian presidential candidacy is indeed futile, Mr. MacBride certainly cannot yet be said to persist in it: he first ran for office in 1976.

New York, N.Y. J. G. DICKENSON

In "Random Notes" [March 31], commenting on the book *Rated X: The Moral Case against TV*, you twisted word meanings. As a conservative, you know it isn't liberal to criticize the new morality, scoffing at Christianity, doctoring the news, etc. Nor is it conservative "prejudice" to uphold the family, and to ask for accuracy in media; rather it is conservative practice. I would like to know just what you meant by this comment.

KATHARINE H. CHENEY

St. Petersburg, Fla.

What we suggested in "Random Notes" was that consumerism and regulation of business by social or governmental action are essentially liberal enthusiasms. We object when the FCC tries to ban televised ads for children's cereal, or when some women's group attempts to strongarm television into portraying only "liberated" women; and, by the same token, we object when a reform-minded author attempts to force conservative values upon the TV industry by advocating similar stratagems. The conservative answer to offensive material on television is to turn off the set. —CW

Rome and the West

Malachi B. Martin's "Papal End Game" [April 28] rang a distant bell in the mists of my paramnesia. I knew that I had read *something* like that *somewhere* before.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After a bit of detective work, I tracked it down: it was in Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*. In his piece on Cardinal Manning, Strachey wrote that the famous Archbishop of Westminster held that "the apostacy of the City of Rome from the Vicar of Christ and its destruction by Antichrist" was certain. Moreover, this opinion was held by "'Malvenda, who . . . states as the opinion of Ribera, Gaspar Melus, Viegas, Suarez, Bellarmine, and Bosius that Rome shall apostatize from the faith.'"

Really, if it were not for Matthew 28:20, what should we orphans of the storm do? "Hang in there," the kids say. I, for one, mean to do just that.

REV. DENNIS P. LYDEN
Bloomingdale, Ohio

Without denying the dangers correctly pointed out by Malachi Martin in his analysis of Paul VI's Ostpolitik, one must note that the turnabout in Rome is more likely to be the result of a despair over the bourgeois West than a preference for Marx and Mao. The Church is wedded to no one form of government. It has coexisted with Roman emperors, Frankish kings, Iberian dictators, and democratic regimes of various stripes. Admittedly, it is painful for Christians who are emotionally and philosophically attached to Hilaire Belloc's premise (and hope), "The Faith is Europe; Europe is the Faith," to view the Communists as the new Franks, and the West as a decadent and terminally ill Roman Empire. But it could be so. A Catholic need not yearn for such a future, nor support the Pope's political judgment in this instance, nor commit anything less than his full energies to proving the despair premature, in order to comprehend why an Ostpolitik has to be considered in the Vatican. Whittaker Chambers would understand.

Mahopac, N.Y. JAMES K. FITZPATRICK

Bouquet

We enthusiastically applaud M. Stanton Evans' column [Jan. 20] supporting tuition tax credits. The College Republican National Committee, the nation's largest student political organization, has long been an active advocate of this method of government support for education. Our efforts have included a nationwide petition drive, distribution of issue-analysis briefs, and testimony before Congress.

We know that tuition tax credits help cut back on expensive federal administrative costs, as well as reducing a university's paperwork load. Most importantly, students instead of bureaucrats decide where the money will be spent. Encouraging individual self-reliance can only improve the quality of education in America.

JOHN BRADY
Washington, D.C. STEVE FACKLER

Now Available:

The Concise Bible A condensation by Frances Kanes Hazlitt

While only one-twelfth the size of the complete Bible, this edition introduces the reader to all 66 books, with the full text of the most famous passages from the King James version. Chapter and verse are provided for each quoted passage. "I shall make great use of it personally and am glad to commend it to all people who are interested in a greater knowledge of the Bible"—Rev. Norman Vincent Peale. "The continuity of the entire Bible is maintained by skillful abridgement. This is a volume to be treasured in itself"—Rev. Edmund A. Opitz. Hardcover $7.95, Paperback $1.95.

They Preached Liberty

The church today is vitally concerned with liberty. What are its origins? Is it a divine gift or an outmoded theory of human rationalism? What are the obligations of liberty? The New England ministers of the American Revolution answered these questions so wisely that their answers have special significance today. This anthology of timely quotations includes an introductory essay and biographical sketches by the Rev. Franklin P. Cole. Hardcover $5.95, Paperback $1.25.

The Wisdom of Adam Smith

Adam Smith may have been the first great economist, but he was no dismal scientist. He was instead a man of great philosophical and historical learning, and his literary style was widely admired. *The Wisdom of Adam Smith* brings together his most incisive and eloquent observations on subjects ranging from political and economic history to morals, philosophy, art, education, war and the American colonies. Compiled by British scriptwriter and playwright John Haggarty, edited and with an introduction by Benjamin A. Rogge. Hardcover $7.95, Paperback $1.95.

The Roots of Capitalism By John Chamberlain

A provocative look at the intellectual forces and practical accomplishments that have created American capitalism. "A vastly persuasive case for capitalist theory and practice"—*Barron's*. Hardcover $9.00, Paperback $3.00.

The Servile State By Hilaire Belloc

A perceptive warning, first published in 1913, of the consequences of statism and the effect of socialist doctrine on capitalist society. With an introduction by Robert Nisbet. "A landmark of political thought in this century"—Walter Lippmann. Hardcover $8.00, Softcover $2.00.

LibertyPress LibertyClassics

LibertyPress/LibertyClassics
7440 North Shadeland, Dept. C6
Indianapolis, Indiana 46250

Please send me the following books.

Quantity	Title	Price Per Copy
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Total enclosed: $_____. Please make checks payable to Liberty Fund, Inc.
We pay postage on prepaid orders.

Print name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ More troubles for **Carter**: Three important members of the Ways and Means Committee (chairman **Al Ullman**, **Dan Rostenkowski**, and **Joe Waggonner**) have told him bluntly that there is no constituency for his program of tax reforms. Carter reportedly was "shocked" at the news—but said he'd press forward with the reforms anyway. . . . Then along came the latest **Gallup**, which shows only 39 per cent approval of how Carter is handling his job—down nine points from late March. . . . At **Jefferson-Jackson Day** dinners in at least three states, Wisconsin, Colorado, and Minnesota, Carter was hardly mentioned by toastmasters and speakers, according to liberal **Alan Baron**. . . . **David Broder**, back from a series of political discussions with Republican and Democratic pols, ranging from **Reaganites** to **McGovernites**, says they all agree that Carter's popularity will continue to sink; many of them believe the GOP will make a stronger showing in the November elections than they had believed possible earlier this year. . . . At a meeting of the **Bilderberg Society** in Princeton, foreign dignitaries regularly referred to just plain "Carter," a noticeable departure from traditional habits when referring to U.S. Presidents. . . . The Carter family doesn't even sell magazines, according to columnist **Kenneth Turan** of the *Washington Post*, who says the *Newsweek* cover that featured Carter ("What Price Energy?") was its worst seller of the year; and when Carter appeared on the cover of *McCall's* with **Rosalynn** and **Amy**, that also flopped at the newsstands. . . . But (cheer up) *U.S. News*, in its yearly poll on who are the **most influential** Americans showed Jimmy Carter first. Other interesting sidelights of that breakdown: **Walter Cronkite** placed eighth, well ahead of **Teddy Kennedy** (17), who

Cookson, London Evening News *Rothco*

"Tune in tomorrow . . . Will Maggie outwit Jim? Can Denis Healey deliver the goods?"

was just ahead of **Robert Strauss** (18). Among Republicans, **Ronald Reagan** was the winner (25), ahead of **Gerald Ford** (28) and **Howard Baker** (29). Thirtieth came **Andrew Young**.

■ Good news and bad news on the publications front: This year's **Pulitzers** included conservative *New York Times* columnist **Bill Safire**, the brilliant *Richmond News Leader* cartoonist **Jeff MacNelly** (a regular in *NR*'s cartoon spread), and 29-year-old **Tony Dolan** of the *Stamford* (Conn.) *Advocate*, who was first published nationally in *NR* in 1968, in a column "On Campus and Off," when he was still a Yale undergraduate. Commented (the still-unreconstructed) Dolan when apprised of the Pulitzer: "Those libs will be sorry." . . . Close to home, *Graphics: U.S.A. & Graphics: N.Y.* has awarded *NR* Art Director **James W. O'Bryan** a prize for his August 5, 1977 cover featuring "The Achievements of **Will Herberg**." . . . And now the bad news. It's reliably rumored that **Walter Annenberg**, conservative publisher of *TV Guide*, plans to slash *TV Guide*'s major conservative column, "News Watch"—columnists **Edith Efron**, **Patrick Buchanan**, **Kevin Phillips**, **John P. Roche**. . . . *Politicks*, the eight-month-old magazine published by former **Lindsay** aide and former *Village Voice* editor **Tom Morgan**, is folding: too little advertising, too few readers. . . . And *More*, the Washington-based journalism review, is up for sale again —for the fourth time in seven years. Says owner **Jim Adler**: "[I decided that] my health was more important than the health of the magazine."

■ Off with Panama, on with SALT, and it's stormy weather for the Administration. Says **Henry Jackson**: "There's a long list of us who voted for the Panama treaties who will vote against SALT, at least the way they are presenting it now." . . . Majority Leader **Robert Byrd** agrees, and has warned Carter and his negotiating team against "bringing a treaty here and having it rejected. It's better not to have any agreement than to have a bad one." . . . Minority Leader Howard Baker, in hot water with **Barry Goldwater**, Ronald Reagan, and **Richard Viguerie** over his espousal of the Panama treaties, says that right now he thinks he will vote against SALT II. . . . Even Carter supporter **Alan Cranston**, who floor-managed Panama, says he thinks approval of a SALT accord this year "impossible." How does he call prospects for approval next year? "I consider it very, very tough."

■ Prize for the funniest button for sale at the Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington must go to: "**Butz-Agnew** in '80: Nobody's Perfect."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"For more than a decade a successful nation has treated itself to a rancid feast of condemnation."

1 **The Bomb that Fizzled**
Thursday, May 18 at 8:30 pm
Starving people. Sick cities. Poverty. Even mass psychosis. It seems as if everything has been blamed on the Population Explosion. But did that Bomb ever go off? In the first of a 3-part series on "The Enemies of Growth" Ben Wattenberg challenges some of our most common assumptions.

2 **Pig of the World**
Thursday, May 25
Critics like **Stewart Udall** say America is ripping off the world's resources. Wattenberg discounts this gloomy view of economic rape and ecological panic.

3 **Enemies of Growth**
Thursday, June 1
Some environmentalists think vigorous economic growth is bad news. Wattenberg thinks some environmentalists are bad news. Guests: **Senator Henry Jackson**, *Harper's* Editor, **Lewis H. Lapham**

4 **Mother, Flag and Apple Pie**
Thursday, June 8
The Sixties. Long hair, communes and revolution. The Seventies. Haircuts, houses and three-piece suits. What happened? **Senator S. I. Hayakawa** and **Ramsey Clark** have different views.

5 **The State of the Unions**
One hour Special
Tuesday, June 13, 8 pm
Unions. Liberals say they've forgotten the downtrodden. Conservatives think they strangle the economy. But where would we be without them? Guests: **Lane Kirkland, Cesar Chavez, Milton Friedman, Albert Shanker.**

6 **Two Cheers for the CIA**
Thursday, June 15
Who needs the CIA anyway? If you have to ask that, you'd better watch this. Guests: Former CIA Chiefs **Richard Helms** and **William Colby.**

7 **The Totalitarian Temptation**
Thursday, June 22
Is Europe drifting away from freedom? Does it really matter to us? Author **Jean Francois Revel** talks about the temptations of totalitarianism.

8 **The War of the Intellectuals**
Thursday, June 29
Many intellectuals think America has gone down the drain. Meet one who doesn't. A special interview with **Norman Podhoretz,** Editor of *Commentary* magazine.

9 **Black Progress**
Thursday, July 6
Despite rhetoric to the contrary, American Blacks have made remarkable strides in the last 15 years. **Julian Bond, Alex Haley, Bayard Rustin** and others look at the puzzle of Black progress.

10 **There's No Business Like Big Business**
Thursday, July 13
Big Business, the modern American villain. Has it really failed us? Or have we failed to understand Big Business? Ben Wattenberg argues with **John Kenneth Galbraith.**

11 **The Good Guys of History**
Thursday, July 20
Viet Nam shattered our good guy image. **Senator Daniel P. Moynihan** and **Secretary James Schlesinger** think it's time to put the pieces back together before it's too late.

12 **Hail to the Chief**
Thursday, July 27
Presidents have been called imperial—out of touch with the people. **Lady Bird Johnson, Dean Rusk** and **William Safire** disagree.

13 **Worker's Lib**
Thursday, August 3
Work. Boring? Meaningless? Impersonal? Ben Wattenberg says that's bunk. Guest: **George Meany,** President of the AFL-CIO.

"A funny thing happened on the way to the Bicentennial. The dominant rhetoric of intellectual discourse turned gloomy—surely on the left, often on the right. We have poor-mouthed, crisis-mongered and guilt-peddled ourselves half to death.

"I believe, despite what we hear these days, that the American experience has been a successful one—that it has set into motion a remarkably healthy and creative process around the world. And I believe that most Americans share that view.

"Last year, public television produced **In Search Of the Real America** as a challenge to the chorus of failure, guilt and crisis. Tonight begins a second season—now in a weekly format. The purpose remains the same—to look at America today and to separate social facts from social fiction."

Ben J. Wattenberg

Ben J. Wattenberg is the author of *The Real America* and co-author of the best selling *The Real Majority*. A former aide and speechwriter for President Lyndon Johnson, Senators Hubert Humphrey and Henry Jackson, Wattenberg has helped write two Democratic Party platforms and is now Chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority. He has been active as a business consultant. He is a Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, where he co-edits the new magazine, *Public Opinion.*

In Search of the Real America Begins Thursday, May 18 at 8:30 on PBS

Consult local listings for channel in your area.

Mobil®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court has suspended the Chief Justice of the Superior Court, Robert M. Bonin. Judge Bonin is an erstwhile pal and protégé of Governor Dukakis, who begged him to step down voluntarily. He wasn't even a judge, and Dukakis appointed him a year ago over 45 sitting judges. Whereupon it transpired, gradually, that Bonin had lied on his application to be a judge; had been accepting improper retainers from a former law client; had, through his new wife, accepted a gift (an expensive "rental" car) from another client; and, on top of all this, attended a fund-raising event for 24 men accused of running a homosexual child-prostitution ring. (He might well have presided over some of the 24 trials.) Bonin said he didn't know it was a fund-raiser; he just wanted to hear a speech on sex and politics. Turns out this was a fib. Two lawyers have said they warned the judge against attending the event, before it happened; and a Boston TV station broadcast a tape of opening remarks, which made it clear what the meeting was for. Impeachment looms, unless His Honor can wring something good out of the First, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, and Fourteenth Amendments in a hurry. But all is not lost. After all, it *is* Massachusetts.

■ IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE DEPT.: Last week, some three hundred representatives of liberal organizations—AFL-CIO, ACLU, National Council of Churches—gathered round campfires in Washington to exchange tales of the "New Right." Senator Thomas McIntyre (D., N.H.) warned that his campaign for re-election was under attack from conservatives. A delegation from the state of Washington told in hushed tones of the political successes of right-wingers there. One Midge Miller, of Wisconsin, described her first close encounter: right-wing resistance to the Equal Rights Amendment. "Then I came to see that it was not just the ERA but the Panama Canal, abortion, and a lot of other issues that were going badly because of well-organized campaigns by the right wing." Who are these masked men? Said Sandra Willet of the National Consumers League: "The National Right to Work Committee, Young Americans for Freedom, Americans against Union Control of Government, the John Birch Society . . ." Say not the struggle naught availeth: twenty years ago, they would have included the KKK.

■ The people of St. Paul have voted, by Dade County proportions, to repeal a homosexual rights ordinance passed *sotto voce* four years ago. The mass media moved into action, portraying opponents of the ordinance as reactionary religious types who celebrated their victory by singing (snicker, snicker) *hymns*. In case you haven't caught on to the unwritten code, the free exercise of religion is supposed to occur in private, among consenting adults, and mustn't affect one's behavior in the political arena. Unless that principle is clearly recognized and respected, John F. Kennedy crawled before the clergymen of Houston in vain.

■ The rubes are getting annoyed, causing the carney hucksters to move their shells more and more frantically. The hucksters, in this case, are congressional Democrats, who last December voted a Social Security tax hike amounting to a thumping $227 billion over the next decade. When the home folks rebelled, the House Democratic caucus voted, 150 to 57, to cut $7.5 billion from payroll taxes, making up the difference from the general treasury. Representative Al Ullman (D., Ore.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, opposed that mirage, but came up with an alternative: why not fund Social Security from the crude-oil tax?—thus linking, as the *Washington Post* put it, "two of the nation's intractable issues to each other." Meanwhile, Republicans are having a ball, as well they might; for those most displeased with the proposed payroll tax hike are small businessmen—"the kind of Republican," Representative Guy Vander Jagt (R., Mich.) explained, "who strayed in 1974 and did not come back in 1976." But who might, in 1978.

■ The U.S. Department of Labor has, for the last few months, required that construction outfits working on any federally funded project employ the same percentage of minority workers as is found in the over-all work force in that area. Some localities have gone even further, insisting that contractors must farm out a certain portion of their work to minority-owned subcontractors. There are now pending two dozen lawsuits—most notably what is being heralded as the construction industry's Bakke case, the case of the Perini Company in Boston. When the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) wanted a new subway tunnel dug, it took bids, and then rejected the lowest one, Perini's. It claimed Perini had not made a sufficient effort to enlist minority subcontractors, and that the minority subcontractor it had found was unacceptable, because, although 51 per cent of its stock is owned by blacks and Mexican-Americans, it was founded with seed money from a white company. Perini, meanwhile, charges that the minority provision results in much higher costs: on one portion of this job a minority company bid $1.2 million for a job Perini thought it could do itself for $600,000. That, the MBTA regarded as unimportant. Perini doubts the taxpayers would agree.

■ The Senate has voted, 83 to 9, to pass the airline deregulation bill whose main sponsor has been Senator Edward Kennedy. The effects of greater freedom in setting fares and choosing routes have already been felt.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO REDUCE RUST

YOU MAY BE WASHING THE WRONG SIDE OF YOUR CAR.

Spring is a perfect time to do something about rust.

Rusting is a year-round problem, and corrosive conditions have become a lot worse in the last five years.

If you live where salt is used to melt ice on the roads, that is speeding up corrosion on your car. If you live in the country, it's the calcium chloride that's spread on dirt roads to hold down dust. And corrosive chemicals in the air are causing rust in every part of America.

We're doing something to help prevent rust on the new cars we're building. Meanwhile, you can do something about reducing rust on your car.

It's important to wash your car often. Use a mild soap and lukewarm or cold water.

Please don't neglect the underside of your car. The worst rusting happens from the inside out. That's because salt, slush, and even mud tend to collect in the crevices underneath the car, in the door creases, and inside the fenders. Moisture gets trapped in those places and causes rust. So try to wash the underside of your car, too. In winter, if you can, and at the first opportunity in spring. Even if it's only a few times a year, that would help some.

If your car gets dented, scratched, or chipped, try to get it repaired as soon as possible. Even a "small" scratch is bad. Because once a car starts to rust, the damage spreads fast. The paint around a dent or scratch can look okay, but rust is spreading underneath. In the long run, it's cheaper to fix the car right away.

A lot of people think that parking a car in a heated garage during the winter will help prevent rust. But it's just the opposite. Cold slows down the rusting process, as it does most chemical reactions.

We're doing more now to protect GM cars from rust. For one thing, we're using more rust-resistant materials, including different types of zinc-coated steel, in places where rust usually occurs. Also, our new paint primers and the way we apply them are designed to provide a thorough finish, even on some parts of the car you can't see.

Our goal is to protect your car so that it lasts longer and gives you the most value. And fighting rust helps.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.

General Motors

People building transportation to serve people

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

More people are flying, fares are lower, profits are up. Kennedy's motivation is generic: "We believe competition to be better than regulation," he says; "businessmen can make better decisions about the conduct of their businesses than bureaucrats." The bill now goes to the House, where passage is likely. This is the most encouraging event in years. And, since what Kennedy says applies to all industries, why stop with the airlines? Perhaps Mr. Kennedy might be persuaded to apply the same principles to medicine.

■ Andrew Young is impulsive, but he's a bad judge of character. First, Young came away from the Malta meeting on Rhodesia this February praising terrorists Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe for their academic qualifications. "There were more university degrees on the African side than on ours," Young said. "You certainly won't find that in Smith's government." Young noted further that the budding murderers had put their intelligence to good use. ". . . They have all been educated in American and British universities . . . much of their unwillingness to compromise grew out of a suspicion . . . of British and American politics." Later, this month in Salisbury, when black moderates suggested that the terrorists meant business, Young assured them that Robert Mugabe was not a Communist, but a good Catholic. Meanwhile, in Dar es Salaam, Robert Mugabe, Catholic, intellectual, and political scientist, came out for a one-party Marxist state. The idea of more than one party, he said, "is a luxury"; and as for the army—"the army must be our army, pure and simple." Good thing Young wasn't around to deal with Dr. Goebbels.

■ Aldo Moro is still missing, reports and rumors of his murder, suicide, and release occurring with frenetic irregularity. Italian police broke up a melee between two groups of kids, most of them protesting the kidnapping and the rest chanting their solidarity with the Red Brigades ("Aldo Moro is no more"). The Pope appealed to the terrorists to have mercy on his friend Moro, whose latest note pleaded pitifully for help and raised fears for his psychological condition. Michael Ledeen, writing in *New York*, reports that the Red Brigades is "not simply another emanation from the bizarre world of radical Italian and Eastern European Communism. In fact, it has been receiving assistance from Italian revolutionaries active a generation ago. Today, the Red Brigades is tightly organized, determined, and ready for combat." It has even infiltrated the regular Communist Party—which now fears that the Brigades "are being covertly helped by the Russians through their friends in Prague." Indeed the Red Brigades seems close to its professed goal of precipitating "anti-imperialist civil war." So far only one side is fighting.

■ "NOTICE. A large reward is offered for anyone discovering a case of smallpox anywhere in the world. Please notify the World Health Organization (WHO), headquarters United Nations, New York, N.Y." Six months ago a young man in Merka City, Somalia probably made it into the *Guinness Book of Records* by contracting smallpox. His is the last known case of the disease. If no other case is discovered in the next 18 months, WHO will declare the world free, for the first time in recorded history, of one of its killer scourges. In this, at least, the UN has made one giant step for humanity.

■ Score one for the vigilant defenders of the Soviet Union. Although many mysteries remain—such as how the South Korean plane could have veered so far off course—NATO sources are sure of several things: 1) the Soviets took nearly one hour to intercept the Korean jet because permisson to scramble, according to usual Soviet procedure, had to be obtained from the Air Defense Command in Moscow; 2) NATO monitors heard the South Korean pilot try to communicate with the Soviet jet; and 3) the order to fire, like the order to scramble, had to come from Moscow. The Soviets are said to be working on a new medal for Brezhnev, one showing a worker gloriously shooting fish in a barrel.

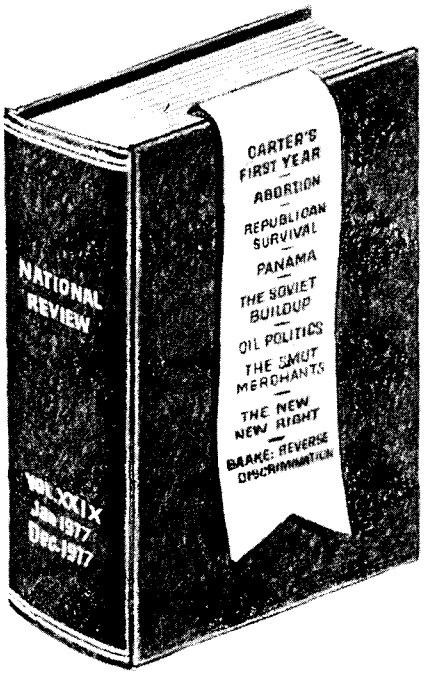
■ VOICE FROM THE DUNGEON: Huber Matos came down from the Sierra Maestra with Fidel Castro to help liberate Cuba. But Matos did not agree with Castro that freedom lay in converting Cuba into a People's Republic, so today, 19 years later, he calls to the conscience of the world "from these forgotten and tortuous paths of offense to the human race that are called Castro's jails. Why," he asks, "[aren't Castro's political prisons] denounced, loud and clear, day after day in the streets of Caracas, in the universities of Mexico, in the pulpits of churches in Scotland, on French television, in the Canadian press, in the UN . . . ?" Good question.

■ "Good Morning America, this is David Hartman," introducing "a well-known documentary-maker who's been shooting film in China since 1939." How come the film-maker had been permitted to do so? Because, replied Hartman's guest, he had gotten to know Chou En-lai when he was in China in 1938 and had managed to retain the confidence of the Chinese hierarchy ever since. Hartman then showed brief sequences from a 12-hour film, such as a rural scene in 1930 with peasants engaged in hard labor and, in contrast, a peaceful, clean Shanghai in 1972. Etc., etc. Concluded the guest: People in China are better off now than ever before with "enough food, enough room, and everything." Good grief, America, what goes on here? What Hartman didn't tell his audience—and what ABC researchers could have found in the autobiography (*The Camera and I*) of well-known film-maker Joris Ivens—is that Ivens has been a Communist apologist for half a century, producing films about the Soviet Union (*Song of Heroes*), Loyalist Spain (*Spanish Earth*), Castro Cuba (*People in Arms*); that he won the Helsinki (Communist) World Peace Prize, and that he told *Le Nouvel*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Last chance - Order now!

Here is the reason why more and more parents of young children are buying bound volumes of National Review



Each year there is a substantial rise in the number of readers who begin their collection of Bound Volumes of *National Review*. And by far the largest group of these are parents who consider these volumes an investment in the future for their children.

In times like these, all of us feel a great need to see the world as it *really* is; to have a *reliable* account of the hectic days we have been living through.

You get that and a whole lot more with *National Review's* Bound Volume XXIX, your permanent record of an incredible year. It's all there (every word of NR and the BULLETIN too): history that cannot be rewritten, just as it happened, unclouded by hindsight and misinterpretation. Everything you want (and *need*) to know about the important events of '77 is at your fingertips, fully indexed for quick, easy reference.

Act Now

If you have never before thought of starting your own set of Bound Volumes, this new edition is the perfect one to begin with. It's big (well over 1500 pages) and filled with the sort of probing, insightful reporting and special inside information (both foreign and domestic) that you expect to find only in *National Review*. In fact, the entire volume is a treasure trove of original features, articles and cartoons, generously laced with the style and wit that makes NR such a reading pleasure. This is particularly important for the parents of young children because, not only will you be making sure *your* children won't be brainwashed about this fateful span of history, you may well be giving them a taste for the sort of reading material that will benefit them for the rest of their lives.

It's a Bargain

The price for Bound Volume XXIX, despite inflation, has been held to just $30. That makes it a real bargain and one that shouldn't be missed. So start *your* collection now with this handsome volume, bound in rich maroon roxite and imprinted in 24-carat gold—a delight to the eye and a prize addition to any library. You may pay with order or enclose a $10 deposit and we'll bill you for the balance when we ship your copy. Just fill in the coupon and mail it to us today. This is a case where you and your whole family really will be glad you did—for years to come.

National Review Bound Volume Dept.
150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016

Gentlemen:

Please send a copy of National Review Bound Volume XXIX (@ $30 per volume) to me at the address below. I understand that you will pay for all postage and handling.

☐ *I enclose payment in full of $30.00*

☐ *I enclose a $10.00 deposit. Bill me later for the balance of $20.00*

Name _____ please print

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Observateur (reprinted in *Atlas*, June 1976) that he had been a Communist and a revolutionary since 1928. How do we know all this, ABC notwithstanding? Because the indefatigable Reed Irvine of Accuracy in Media dug it all out and is asking ABC some probing questions. The terrible thing about Irvine is that he refuses to get lost. Once when he caught the *Washington Post* out in a similar flimflam and the *Post* refused to discuss the matter, Irvine took out an ad in the *Post* to tell the story.

■ Health, Education, and Welfare announces that it lost between $6.3 and $7.4 billion last year through waste, abuse and fraud. Which is not so easy to do: have you ever tried wasting seven billion dollars? Anyway, don't worry, it only cost the average family $140 in taxes, and Secretary Califano says "pioneering initiatives" are under way to hold HEW wastage this year to an "irreducible minimum" of, oh, $6.9 to $8.1 billion.

■ Report from termite patrol: If you see the Broadway show *Annie*, you'll learn that Herbert Hoover willed the Great Depression, that Franklin Roosevelt was the wonderful fellow who brought Prosperity, and that business success is based on the merciless destruction of anything or anyone that stands in your way. Or see the film *Julia*, which teaches us that pro-Communists are merely humanitarians, that rich people have no social conscience, and that the opposition to Hitler was just a nice group of liberals. And bastardy is wonderful. Ask Vanessa.

■ "It is interesting," writes Garry Wills, reflecting on the fact that the neutron bomb was tested on rodents, "that right-wingers who make fun of the effect of saccharin on mice are awed by the power of radiation to zap a mouse." Right! Let's get to work on a saccharin bomb.

■ An amazing editorial in the *New York Times* (April 16) gives voice to the "suppressed resentment" felt by taxpayers. The complexity and burden of the income tax are grievous and galling enough; inflation multiplies the damage; the salaried taxpayer feels like a "chump" for supporting the idle; there is doubt whether the taxes are "fairly collected and wisely spent"; the whole system based on voluntary compliance is in jeopardy. Such language is an early form of revolutionary rhetoric. The tax revolt is gathering steam. Down with King George!

■ A WORD FITLY SPOKEN IS LIKE APPLES OF GOLD IN PICTURES OF SILVER DEPT. (Proverbs XXV): From a letter to the *New York Daily News*, April 24: "How refreshing it was to see the top Soviet employee at the UN defect to our side. We could have been luckier, though. Carter and Young could have defected to our side."

■ Dr. Pierre L. van den Berghe, latest recipient of Senator Proxmire's Golden Fleece award, professes to be pleased and flattered by the publicity. The tireless researcher won the award with an 18-month, in-depth study of the, uh, social and behavioral relationships in a Peruvian whorehouse. The project was financed by a $97,000 federal grant from the National Institute for Mental Health, which works out to $177 a night. Crazy gringos.

Banality of Evil

"What was that?"

"I didn't hear anything."

"I heard a strange sound, coming from far away, like thousands of people screaming. Or like thunder over distant mountains."

"It's the wind. I only hear the wind shaking the trees."

"You are right. I only hear the wind now. It must have been the wind. Yes, the wind, it was nothing."

The thing is hard to say—in fact it feels shameful to say it—but judging by the response here and abroad by people by no means deficient in human sympathy, the genocide now taking place in Cambodia is, in fact, *boring*. The nightly TV docu-drama on a 35-year-old Holocaust has been evoking far more interest, comment, and passion than the actual Holocaust taking place at this moment in that distant Asian land.

President Carter issues a stern denunciation of the Cambodian Communist regime as the *worst* violator of human rights in the world. The *Washington Post* condemns the Cambodian slaughter, albeit with pietistic denunciations of the American bombing. Refugees report maybe a million people slaughtered. All of this drops into a vast silence. No protests are mounted, no UN resolutions are passed, no emergency committees are formed.

Of course, nothing much is going to take place on this issue in the UN. The Third World Marxoid dictatorships that dominate that institution are not well positioned to criticize any other Marxist state on human rights grounds. Better to denounce Chile and Israel.

Much of the non-response may be due to the fact that Cambodia is a non-event, the current definition of an event being that which reaches us via television. From the firing on Fort Sumter through the sinking of the *Maine*, the invasion of Belgium, and the bombing of Guernica, the galvanizing events came to us through the medium of print. World War II was a radio war. Then, with Korea, the Cuban missile crisis, Vietnam, and the series of wars in the Mideast, TV shaped our perception of reality. Cambodia, now totally cut off from the outside world by its Communist rulers, is being crucified off screen. Mass murder, proportionately perhaps the worst in recorded history, is a muffled rumor, heard from far away. To adapt a line from Marlowe: That was in another country, and besides they all are dead.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

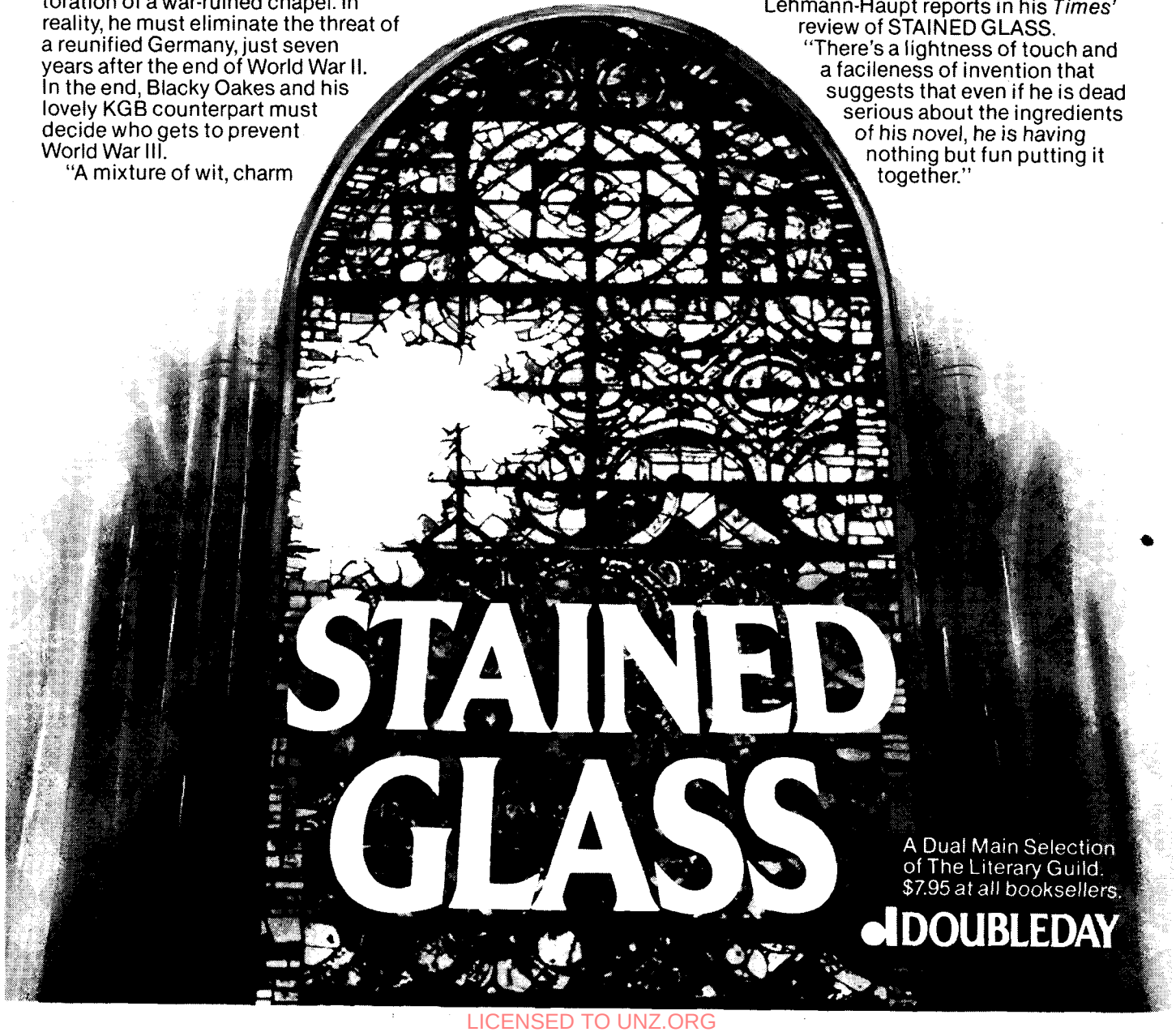
teams his CIA hero with the KGB, to restore a 13th century church and to rearrange 20th century history.

Blackford Oakes, Yale and CIA man, charmed everyone from John Kenneth Galbraith to the *Wall Street Journal* with his unusual method of SAVING THE QUEEN in William F. Buckley's first novel. Now he's back with an even more perilous assignment. Ostensibly he is to oversee the Marshall Plan restoration of a war-ruined chapel. In reality, he must eliminate the threat of a reunified Germany, just seven years after the end of World War II. In the end, Blacky Oakes and his lovely KGB counterpart must decide who gets to prevent World War III.

"A mixture of wit, charm and audaciousness that could only have been blended in the Buckleyan brainpan," is how the *New York Times'* Christopher Lehmann-Haupt described Mr. Buckley's first fiction best-seller. To that mixture, STAINED GLASS adds a sizzling love affair, a stark look at Cold War cynicism, and taut suspense. Not to mention walk-on parts by the likes of Harry Truman, Senator Joseph McCarthy, Allen Dulles, and the legendary CIA operative "Rufus."

"Buckley executes the international thriller as well as nearly anyone," Mr. Lehmann-Haupt reports in his *Times'* review of STAINED GLASS.

"There's a lightness of touch and a facileness of invention that suggests that even if he is dead serious about the ingredients of his novel, he is having nothing but fun putting it together."



STAINED GLASS

A Dual Main Selection of The Literary Guild.
$7.95 at all booksellers.

DOUBLEDAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Summit Telepathy

Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Carter have finally interacted on the neutron bomb. On April 25, a couple of weeks after Jimmy Carter announced his decision to defer any decision on U.S. neutron production, Leonid Brezhnev spoke on national television urging mutual restraint: "I could inform you that we have taken the President's statement into account and that we too will not begin production of neutron arms so long as the United States does not do so."

On the same day Mr. Carter, in a news conference shown on the major national networks, dismissed Brezhnev's pledge as "of no significance," explaining that the bomb is strictly a defensive weapon: "The Soviets know, President Brezhnev knows, that the neutron weapon is designed to be used against massive and perhaps overwhelming tank forces. The Soviets have no use for a neutron weapon, so the offer by Brezhnev to refrain from building a neutron weapon has no significance in the European theater, and he knows this."

Really? Has President Carter access to Soviet studies on battlefield nuclear weapons requirements? Or, as American officialdom long has been prone to do, has he merely taken the U.S. analysis and assumed it for the Russians?

One American official who has spoken candidly on our knowledge of Soviet tactical nuclear weapons is General Edward Giller, a veteran of thirty years in nuclear weaponry analysis. Giller recently stated: "Early Soviet tactical nuclear systems were apparently high-yield weapons. We are much less certain about the systems they have introduced in recent years. Those who argue that U.S. introduction of low collateral-damage tactical nuclear weapons is meaningless as long as the Soviets maintain high-yields ignore the possibility that the Soviets have already moved toward lower-yield systems or will do so in response to the U.S. initiative."

On the Soviet side, military planners and strategists have written for years on the requirements for the tactical nuclear battlefield. They regard the use of nuclear radiation as a more "expedient" means to produce enemy troop casualties. They express great concern over the effects of high-yield indiscriminate weapons, which would cause large-scale force-blowdown (long a problem for advancing tank columns), urban rubble (again a problem for advancing armor), and radioactive contamination. In stressing these operational problems, the Soviet strategists are practically begging for battlefield weapons of low blast and contamination—weapons like the neutron warhead. Even Herbert Scoville, an arch-enemy of the neutron bomb, has admitted this, giving Mr. Brezhnev his rationale: ". . . the reduced blast effect of the neutron bomb makes it ideal for offensive purposes."

Biblical Israel?

In their letter criticizing the negotiating position of the Begin government, 37 prominent American Jews not only exhibited considerable moral courage but also brought to the surface a largely hidden issue. All Israeli governments have stressed security and defensible borders, but with the accession of the Begin government, the theme of Greater Israel has begun to come to the fore. The Prime Minister as well as a substantial portion of his supporters lay claim on religious grounds to "biblical Israel," a territorial claim going far beyond the 1967 borders, and far beyond anything envisioned by U.S. policy. Thus the 37 Americans addressed their letter to a group in Israel, supporting a statement by three hundred Israeli reserve officers who had called upon fellow Israelis "to say they prefer peace to a Greater Israel." The 37 Americans echoed that phrase:

"When I am elected President . . ."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You won't find these articles in TIME or NEWSWEEK

- **How Books Are Smuggled into the USSR:** Heartening news from Lennard Frantzell.
- **When Left Turns Right:** Gregory Rose Exposes some Labor Hanky-Panky.
- **Ecumenicists at Work:** Nicholas King Tells All.
- **The Challange of the Right:** A Report by Chilton Williamson Jr.
- **Why Economists Disagree:** Alan Reynolds Explains.
- **William Kendall's Fundamental Position:** Jeffrey Hart and Henry Regnery
- **God and Man in Kiev:** By Ronald Docksai and T. Coleman Andrews.
- **The War in Vietnam— Fact, Fiction, Lost Opportunity:** By Colin Gray.

But you *will* find them in coming issues of *National Review* (and *only* in *National Review*). Articles like these are important to you for this good reason —*they keep you in touch with the "other" point of view* and that's come to be a necessity for the truly informed person in these days of "homogenized" news reporting.

What's more, you'll find that keeping up with the news the NR way helps you to better evaluate what you *do* read in the "news magazines" (or see on TV). NR gives your own opinions the critical balance that can make your views and conversations more interesting—because it's one magazine that really *does* give you the view from the other side. And backs it up.

But the benefits of getting *National Review* regularly don't stop with this special coverage of current events. There is an abundance of other features to expand your horizons and delight your sense of humor. The book section with its discerning reviews of really important books is a treasure in itself. Movies and plays get the same unusual treatment. There are also articles on the latest in travel, food and wine, music, and so on. To say nothing of the inimitable cartoons of Gauerke, Mal and others. In short, the regular readers of *National Review* keep up with the arts and manners of our times – but from a refreshingly different point of view.

All of which makes NR one of the best buys around. And all *you* have to do to start enjoying this genuinely interesting magazine regularly is to fill out the postpaid card (opposite) and mail it back to us. It entitles you to ten big issues (20 weeks) of *National Review* at the special low rate (for new subscribers only) of just $7.50. A bargain price indeed for some of the best journalism in America. Send in the handy card today. It's the first step in the *right* direction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"We share your view that a secure peace is more important than a Greater Israel."

Clearly, neither U.S. policy nor the political realities of the Middle East can accommodate religious claims to a greatly expanded state of Israel. Saul Bellow, Daniel Bell, Norman Podhoretz, Jacob Neusner, Irving Howe, and thirty other signers deserve credit for trying to get that message through to Mr. Begin.

Congress Saves

A skeptical Congress will apparently minimize the damage resulting from the President's tax and energy proposals. The House Ways and Means Committee has exhibited appropriate concern about the enormous size of the budget deficit, and appropriate contempt for the President's populist tax "reforms" (i.e., increases). The sorry state of the economy requires that tax cuts be tailored to create wealth, not to redistribute it, and that they be accompanied by a rollback of federal spending and borrowing. Those who point to the 1964 Kennedy tax cuts as a favorable precedent should recall that federal spending was actually lower in 1965 than in 1964, and that the Kennedy rate reductions, unlike the Carter proposals, did not apply only to those with below-average incomes.

A Senate-House energy conference postponed natural-gas deregulation until 1985, which will prolong the crisis, and extended controls to intrastate markets, to spread the misery. Still, this is better than the Carter proposal of holding energy producer prices down forever, while boosting consumer prices with enormous taxes. The Brookings Institution study, *Setting National Priorities*, acknowledged the wisdom of letting energy prices reflect replacement costs, but noted that "failure to extend similar treatment to energy production will hamper achievement of short-run energy goals. It may also lead to subsidies and inefficiencies that drain away resources that could better be used elsewhere." That is a polite way of saying that the President's energy program makes no sense.

Diplomat's Lot

In southern Africa, Secretary of State Vance pressed for agreement on a peaceful transition to black majority rule in Namibia, and as this is written South Africa has accepted, leaving the next move up to Sam Nujoma of the South West Africa People's Organization—and he was holding his tongue. In Rhodesia (about to be Zimbabwe) it was tougher, as Vance and British Foreign Minister Owen tried to get the guerrilla leaders (or at least one of them) and the Salisbury black/white quadrumvirate into negotiation. Salisbury has so far rejected this, and, if it relents, it will be no thanks to Vance's albatross, Andrew Young, who seems obsessed with his prediction of failure in Salisbury followed by a "black-on-black" war. There is not much time left either, as the clock ticks rapidly in Rhodesia toward peacefully achieved black majority rule, which, if it were successfully implemented this year, might rule out the chance of a Russian-financed Cuban-mercenary-encadred war throughout southern Africa.

In Moscow, the restrained appraisals by Vance and Gromyko of the SALT talks are, in a way, encouraging, if only because they suggest we have not again changed our position or made new concessions in our anxiety to reach an agreement. Senator Jackson underlined this weakness on *Face the Nation*, saying that, "after starting with a good proposal last year, at every session we have given, given, given. . . . When you're on again and off again in constant retreat, the Russians . . . just sit there . . . and achieve their goal." The Soviets did relax their objection to transfer of neutron technology to Western Europe (although President Carter has suspended the project), but they still refuse to let their Backfire bombers be included as strategic weapons—meanwhile accumulating more of them. The complexities of monitoring "modernization" limits are probably beyond verification by technological means, and the Russians of course refuse any other kind of verification.

The real limits on SALT negotiations lie not in the Administration but in the Senate, which, after nearly choking on the Panama treaties, is not in the mood to swallow much more—and tends, anyway, to view a SALT treaty in the context of Russian/Cuban predatory spoiling around Africa. Indeed, President Carter gave them reason to do so in his Wake Forest speech. Moscow, however, saw no reason not to go ahead on the day of Vance's departure and issue a communiqué jointly with the Cuban Foreign Minister promising continued aid to guerrilla movements in southern Africa. That's some leverage we have. As James Reston has recently noted, the Senate is "skeptical not only of the Soviets but of the Carter Administration . . . and wants what it probably will never get, . . . a secure wall against any more Soviet penetration."

In the effort to put negotiations with Moscow on a more sober, workmanlike basis, Vance avoided diversions while he was in Moscow—such as dealings conducted by the Embassy regarding the release of passengers on the Korean jetliner forced down by trigger-happy Russian fighter planes, or the Soviet effort to suppress photos of their own rough arrest of an American professor's Russian wife who demonstrated before the U.S. Embassy, dramatizing her request for an exit visa to rejoin her husband. Both of these cases were revealing demonstrations of the harsh underside of the Soviet Union, reflecting the mentality of the people with whom we must do business. Vance's refusal not to be distracted

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from his main effort reflects how far the Administration has subordinated human rights to what it regards as higher-priority interests.

Inflation

Last year, the Administration gambled that it could pursue inflationary policies without producing much more inflation, and that the public would gladly tolerate a little more inflation. The results are now painfully apparent, and any workable solution must begin with an uncharacteristic admission of error. The President can't even claim ignorance, since he explained last November that "you have inflationary pressures developed when you have an excess supply of money."

The rate of increase in the money supply jumped from 5.7 per cent in 1976 to 7.8 per cent in 1977; consumer price inflation jumped from 4.8 per cent to 6.8 per cent. From September through February, non-food commodity prices soared at over a 14 per cent annual rate. Even the prices received by farmers, now 5 per cent above a year ago, are expected to rise 6 to 8 per cent this year; Senator Dole has plans to push them even higher.

The Administration has painted itself into a corner by describing a half-trillion dollars as a "lean and tight" budget, thus leaving the door open for more spending, and by openly assaulting the Federal Reserve for not producing enough inflation. Next year's inflation must be checked this year, however, and so far Mr. Carter's abstract appreciation of economic virtue hasn't been applied with much foresight. Spending has a thousand clamorous constituencies; restraint has a narrow political base, but it can avenge itself on the neglectful with a serious global collapse.

Miller's Money

The recent rise of the dollar and the stock market was clearly due to the Federal Reserve's willingness to lift the interest rate at which it supplies the bank reserves that lie at the base of the money supply. William Miller's backbone and independence survived the first test under fire. And, contrary to prevailing myths, the stock market thrives on responsible monetary policy.

Even through the depressed winter, the growth of bank reserves and credit had remained strong. Then there were clear signs of an extraordinarily vigorous rebound in the March figures for personal income, industrial production, housing starts, durable goods orders, and retail sales. Together with the Treasury's insatiable appetite for credit, the steamy business snapback had to push interest rates up if the Fed was to retain any reasonable control over the money supply. Business loans at banks increased at a 20 per cent rate in March, and by mid-April the supply of bank reserves and currency was 9 per cent above a year earlier.

At a subsequent press conference, President Carter promised that he would do "everything I can" to keep interest rates "as low as possible." With an appropriately independent Fed, and the understandable public demand for tax relief, the only thing the President could do to lower interest rates would be what he should do anyway: slash federal spending and thereby reduce the pressure of Treasury borrowing on our strained credit markets.

Sunny Mozambique

"I'd like to spend some time in Mozambique," wrote singer and poet laureate Bob Dylan. "The sunny sky is aqua blue/ And all the couples dancing cheek to cheek. . . . You'll see why it's so unique to be/ Among the lovely people living free/ Upon the beach of sunny Mozambique." Dylan was celebrating the country's recent independence from Portugal and the promise of its socialist revolution.

That was in 1975. Three years later, that promise has become, well, jaded, though no one doubts the skies are as aqua blue as ever.

Item. The workers' committee in the Riopela de Mozambique textile mill refused for two weeks to allow plant director João Soares to travel to South Africa. Soares, who had stomach cancer, could not get proper medical care in Mozambique. The workers' committee was worried that he might commit "economic sabotage." When permission was finally granted, it was too late. Soares died on route to the hospital.

Item. Taking pointers from the Khmer Rouge, the ruling Frelimo forces have forcibly moved all residents out of Ressano Garcia, a town near the South African border. Foreign nationals were deported and Mozambicans were dispersed to other villages or escorted to "re-education camps." When the Pakistani ambassador in Maputo protested the treatment of Pakistani residents, he was denied an interview with the Frelimo foreign minister on "security" grounds.

Two Guerrillas

What fun to be Mr. Mugabe
  And have Dr. Owen for tea;
How pleasant for Mr. Nkomo
  As Vance makes a tremulous plea.
It's bliss to be courted by *bwana*;
  Their smiles are excessively wide—
Recalling that tiger from Niger
  Digesting the lady, inside.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Item. Frelimo now distributes all foreign films and has assumed ownership of most private cinemas, probably as a prelude to controlling all media. Seventy-one-year-old Manuel Rodrigues, the owner of four private cinemas in Maputo, was hauled off last December to a re-education camp on charges of evading income tax. His cinemas now show Communist propaganda films, especially films from Cuba.

Item. Shopkeepers in Maputo have been arrested for "making too much profit," and have been paraded through the streets wearing banners that read, "Robbers of the People." The re-education camps are crowded with numerous critics of Frelimo arrested by the secret police.

Item. Despite his claim to the support of the people, President Machel guards his travel itinerary with all the secrecy of Fidel Castro. He maintains four different residences, never spending two consecutive nights in the same place. He is constantly surrounded by his secret police and by an entourage of Soviet-bloc advisors. This may have something to do with the activities of the National Resistance Movement, the anti-Frelimo group which controls a good portion of the countryside.

Indeed we see why it's so unique to be
Among the lovely people living free
Upon the beach of sunny Mozambique.

Schlesinger's Electoral Proposal

Professor Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has come up with a proposal for modifying the present electoral system. As Edmund Burke observes, any major change can have unintended consequences, the inference being that it should be instituted only after the most careful consideration by—again, Burke would say—men of experience and not mere theorists. Nevertheless, Schlesinger's proposal, on an initial view, appears to have some merit.

Under the present electoral system, a presidential candidate can win with electoral votes even if his opponent has more popular votes. Schlesinger would render the chances of such an outcome negligible by awarding the popular vote winner a bonus of 102 electoral votes (two for each of the fifty states and two for the District of Columbia).

It might be objected that this scheme would create two *kinds* of electoral vote, a possible shortcoming. It might be argued that in a three-way race (1968: Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace, for example), the actual majority lies with *two* of the candidates, and not with a single "winner," and that it would be desirable to leave room for some bargaining to constitute that majority.

Several theoreticians have argued that the electoral vote system itself serves to perpetuate in existence the two major parties, and that both it and they should disappear. A conservative majority, which surely now exists in the nation, finds its interests frustrated by alternating Democratic and Republican Establishment Administrations. Were the historic parties to go back into solution, as it were, the real possibility exists that a new governing coalition could emerge.

All of these and other proposals no doubt reflect a sense of impasse, a sense that the old electoral vote system no longer quite suits the modern political reality. Professor Schlesinger has made a valuable contribution to the ongoing analysis.

The Country's Going to Pot

Remember the Great Depression, when we all scorned WPA as a "boondoggle" because it laid out tax dollars to pay for turning over bricks in pavements? Remember how we said it was wasteful—even sinful—to spend hard-earned money to put people to work doing things that really didn't need doing? But remember also how grateful the people were who got the jobs?

The wheel turns but not yet full-circle. Here we are with millions of unemployed and thousands of miles of pot-holed roads which really need fixing. So what do we do? The House appropriates $250 million to help the states (which used to do this on their own) to fill pot-holes. But no one has said a word about employment. Instead, according to the *Washington Post*, the focus is on research to "find a better way . . . than depending on a couple of guys shoveling an asphalt-based mix into a hole." Given the "political will," and $20 million for pot-hole-patching research, the *Post* tells us, "the talent would come running."

Maybe so—but what's wrong with a couple of guys shoveling asphalt? What about the unemployed? Why not stipulate that the federal money provided be used only for pot-hole-filling projects which will hire people off the welfare rolls? A couple of guys with shovels can fix more pot-holes than any research foundation in the country—and cost less.

Should Catholics Vote?

Bill Moyers' *CBS Reports* has inspected "The Politics of Abortion," only to conclude, sadly, that the issue is essentially "theological," and hence not a proper one for political discourse. The show featured close-ups of American Catholics, not only protesting abortion, but in their churches, buying rosaries, wearing priestly vestments, nuns' habits, even Knights of Columbus uniforms; as if to suggest that they are an alien presence, obtruding a sectarian dogma on their fellow citizens. Rather as if a show on the Middle East were to exhibit the yarmulke

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the cantor singing in Hebrew to imply that only peculiarly Jewish interests were at stake.

The confusion is obvious. Moyers reduced the question to one of "individual choice," a venerable Protestant concern, but one that is thought by many people, including many Protestants, to be inapplicable to abortion. The question is not whether individual choice is precious, but whether only one individual is involved—and not even the Catholic Church relies on revelation to resolve the matter. Non-believers too have opposed legalizing the destruction of the human fetus.

Moyers, an ordained Baptist preacher, is a patently decent man. It is a shame he has allowed the issue to be obscured by old fears of Catholic political might; neither he nor anybody else raised church-state bogeys when "concerned clergy" raised their voices against the war in Vietnam. Indeed it has been fashionable to censure the Catholic Church for its "silence" on Hitler. Catholics have as good a right as others to protest, individually and corporately, a Supreme Court coup that licensed what they see as one more state-sponsored horror of our time. To raise old suspicions of their status as citizens is to affront the very pluralism Moyers wants to protect.

Weinstein Fires Back

As noted last issue, *The Nation*'s new editor Victor Navasky has gone after Allen Weinstein's *Perjury* in a big (nearly nine pages) way. The scale of attention itself suggests that at least some damage has been done; but the effort turned out not to be an attempt to vindicate Hiss, but a frantic search for epistemological loopholes for the sake of those true believers in Hiss's innocence who want to cling to both the ancient faith and intellectual respectability. The bottom line of Navasky's attack was that all is not lost, you don't *have* to think *Hiss* was guilty.

The core of Navasky's attack was a refutation of several key interviews Weinstein conducted with people intimate with the Communist milieu in which Hiss moved in the Thirties. Navasky approached several of these people, and insisted that they repudiated Weinstein's version of what they said.

Weinstein, however, is a tough cookie, and in an interview in the *Boston Globe* he gave a preview of his coming rebuttal to Navasky.

"Navasky alleges that I misquoted six people whom I interviewed, misstated basic facts, and distorted evidence —grave accusations against a scholar. Yet Navasky never checked any of this with me prior to rushing his magazine into print, reprint, and a massive advertising campaign.

"Had he phoned me or written me, I would have invited Navasky to examine the material which proves, as we shall see, that I have cited all six accurately and have neither misstated basic facts nor distorted evidence.

"Three of the six interviewees who recanted their stories—Maxim Lieber, Karel Kaplan, and Sam Krieger —are on tape and I have both the tape and transcripts; one (Kaplan) published a magazine article reiterating the facts told earlier to me. A respected newsman witnessed and also taped the statements made by Kaplan. Other reputable witnesses were present both at Kaplan's and Lieber's interviews. In all six cases—the previously mentioned three and also Paul Willert, Ella Winter, and Alden Whitman—I have not only the notes of my interviews but can corroborate their every statement with letters from them, defense file memos, FBI records, and other interviews."

The Nation over the years has invested a great deal of moral and intellectual capital in the idea of Hiss's innocence. Navasky has given it a try, but bankruptcy seems to impend.

Indigestion

If Jimmy Carter blows it
  And leaves to preach The Word;
If Jerry Brown should plummet
  And join the common herd,
Who grabs the party standard?
  Who runs with it, on cue?
I hate to spoil your dinner,
  But Teddy does, that's who.

W. H. VON DREELE

Notes & Asides

■ Dear William Buckley:

The enclosed photostat is of a review appearing in your paper [of *A Fine Old Conflict* by Jessica Mitford, reviewed by Selden Rodman, September 30, 1977]. It contains a gross misstatement concerning my wife. ["That particular one of Lord Redesdale's spirited daughters who elected to rebel against neo-fascist Farve by becoming a Communist could hardly have been expected to embrace that dismal religion without the noblesse oblige of a born snob. Daughters Unity and Diana, to be sure, also chose to punish Farve and Muv for their neolithic upbringing by pursuing the Real Thing—Unity by sacrificing her life to the Führer, Diana by marrying Oswald Mosley and going to jail with him for treason—but both slogged ahead doggedly without a trace of wit."] I do not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

propose to do anything about it as it appeared in your paper but enclose the true facts of the matter which were stated in the House of Commons by Mr. Stokes, afterward a Minister in the Labor government. This statement of the facts has never been refuted from any quarter and represents the simple truth.

My good wishes to you personally.

Yours sincerely,
[Sir Oswald] Mosley
Orsay, France

["After 16 hours' cross-examination in the private committees to consider 18B cases, Mr. Norman Birkett indulged in this conversation with Sir Oswald Mosley, which I think ought to be quoted and put on record, whatever one's feelings. Sir Oswald Mosley said to Mr. Birkett: 'There appear to be two grounds for detaining us: 1) A suggestion that we are traitors who would take up arms and fight with the Germans if they landed, and 2) That our propaganda undermines the civilian morale.' Mr. Birkett replied: 'Speaking for myself you can entirely dismiss the first suggestion.' Sir Oswald Mosley: 'Then I can only assume that we have been detained because of our campaign for a negotiated peace.' Mr. Norman Birkett: 'Yes, Sir Oswald, that is the case.' " (Mr. R. R. Stokes, Hansard 367, Col. 839: 10:12:40.)]

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am a physicist and an inventor. I've invented a new kind of nuclear fusion device for generating cheap electricity and it appears that it works. I have several patents pending on this device and it looks like I'll receive letters of patent, within the next couple of months. As soon as I receive these patents ERDA (Energy Research and Development Agency) will ask me for a license to use my ideas to make neutron bombs. They are willing to pay me several millions of dollars for a license.

I intend to use this money to start up my own research corp. There are several business ventures I would like to get into. Besides the money I'll get from ERDA, companies like Con Edison will ask me for a license to use my device to generate cheap electricity. They will have to pay me a royalty. The amount of money I stand to make from the royalties is enormous. I stand an excellent chance of becoming the richest man in the world in the next couple of years.

In the next couple of years I will either own or else control most of the major corporations in this country and most of the rest of the Western World (I've filed my invention in several other countries).

The main reason I'm writing you is that I will soon have a very serious problem finding the right people to help me run my corporate empire. I believe that ex-Senator James Buckley is related to you. If you could contact him and ask him if he would be interested in working for me as a public relations manager and working in liaison with the U.S. Gov't I would be most grateful. This job will not be available until several months from now so he has plenty of time to think about my proposal. If he's not interested please let me know. If he is then I would appreciate it if you could give me his address & tel. #.

With best wishes,

Yours truly,
R. Bogdan, Inventor
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Bogdan: You are correct that ex-Senator James Buckley is related to me. However, I have secured a copyright on his address, and I give it out only upon *receipt of a registered check for one million dollars, small* potatoes for you, just have your sec. make it out. Cordially and good luck, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In reference to Col. Chilton's letter, "Notes and Asides," Feb. 3, 1978, he need not give up NATIONAL REVIEW. I have also recently lost my sight. Although the recorded edition of *NR* does not have all the charm, much less the advertising, of the print edition it is better than no *NR* at all. The local state commission for the blind I am sure could supply his needs. I hope others have also supplied this information.

I have been reading *NR* for about two years and as I am only 32 I hope to have another sixty years at least of enjoyable reading. Thank you for a great magazine.

Sincerely,
Gerard Merrill

Thank you. Cordially, **—WFB**

"We can be very proud of our little Cheryl. She got an A+ in Sex Education Lab."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The President and the Bomb

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

I HAD BETTER begin by giving fair warning. I don't really believe Jimmy Carter is the worst President we've ever had. I'll admit he's not exactly my dream prince, but it's reasonable to rate a President by comparison with his peers, not with the Wizard of Oz. So judged, Jimmy Carter has some formidable rivals for low spot on the list. I won't drag in Millard Fillmore, Rutherford Hayes, or Chester A. Arthur, but even sticking closer to our own day, Carter at least hasn't chickened out on an invasion launched by his order, thrown away to no purpose 50,000 American and a couple of million other lives by incompetent handling of a minor war, renounced a second term on the demand of rampaging students, drug-soaked hippies, and spoiled children playing revolution, brought a bungled war to an end in an ignominious defeat christened "peace with honor," or got caught in a tangle of lies and a cheap coverup that got him booted out in disgrace while it demoralized the citizenry.

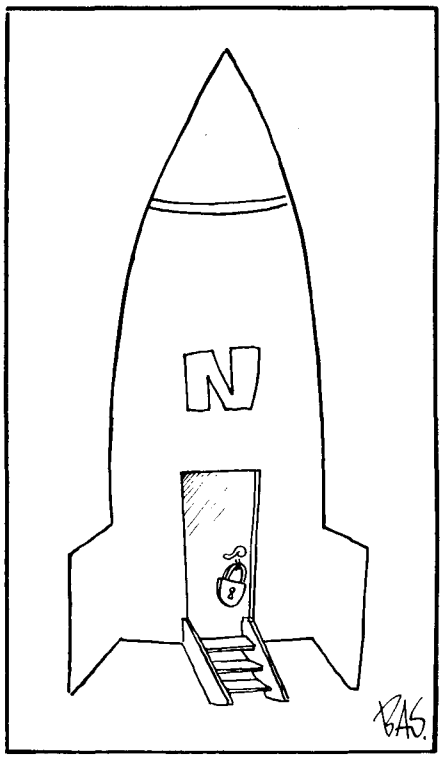
It is not my purpose, here and now, to render a general verdict on the Jimmy Carter Administration (which, come to think of it, has some while yet to run before the evidence is in). However, I am ready to defend its most widely and harshly criticized action to date: the decision not to decide about production of the neutron bomb.

History as She Is Written

There was an absurd preface to the action. The *New York Times*, still panting to overcome the huge lead for the Leakers Cup that the *Washington Post* gained in the Watergate period, reported on its front page April 7 that the President had reached the decision to cancel the neutron bomb altogether. On the same day Carter announced his actual decision to postpone production. The *Times* and virtually the entire media from then on presented the story as if the decision to cancel was a historical fact instead of an irresponsible potpourri of Washington gossip, and the actual decision a "change of mind under pressure."

The public image of the neutron bomb has been grossly sensationalized. The neutron bomb ("enhanced radiation warhead") is no Excalibur emerged from the deep to enable us to slay all our enemies by its magic power. It is a small, relatively low-power device designed to arm short-range tactical missiles and artillery—one more among the scores of new-model weapons that the nuclear scientists and technicians turn out in the manner of their Detroit cousins. Its special features would make it, as Defense Secretary Harold Brown explained, militarily "useful but not essential" in a NATO defense against a Soviet mass tank blitz into Western Europe. As Brown also mentioned, we have a number of new non-nuclear weapons that are also useful against tanks—among them the various "smart bombs" guided by wire, thermal sensors, radar, laser beams, etc.

Like all weapons, the ERW has limitations and negative features, but these have received little attention. The only public discussion of them that I have seen was in a letter to the *Times* (April 18) written by Herbert Scoville, former technical director of the Defense Department's Armed Forces Special Weapons Project. Scoville explains why the ERWs' "reduced range of blast damage . . . is a disadvantage in going after tanks," and how "since radiation does not kill or incapacitate immediately, it might not be known for several hours whether the tank is or how soon it will be out of action: not a satisfactory battlefield situation." Scoville also shows why, contrary to the general impression, "the radioactivity induced by the neutron radiation in materials on the ground will be more than ten times greater than with a fission bomb, so that operations in the area may be seriously curtailed, perhaps for several days."



Bas, *Tachydromos* *Rothco*

The ERW would have no direct role in defense of the United States. It is designed for possible tactical use in the defense of Western Europe, which accepted doctrine considers to be of indirect service to our defense. It would be deployed on European, not American, soil. However, no spokesman for a West European government has declared in public that his government is willing to have neutron bombs deployed on its territory. There are a lot of stories about what the leaders say in private; but in public, nothing. That fact, alone, seems to me sufficient reason to postpone production. It is said that our NATO allies will accept the ERWs if we send them along (sneak them in, presumably). That won't really do. If the European governments haven't the guts to come clean with their citizens now on the ERW, they wouldn't have the guts to use them.

Carter's action on the ERW is scorned as a non-decision proving "vacillation." Its ambiguity (whatever the psychological origin) seems to me a point much in its favor. Why not keep your enemy guessing? Moscow will have to devote much manpower and long hours to trying to find out what, if anything, Carter's "postponement" really means; whatever its intelligence services report, the Kremlin will feel uneasy. Meanwhile our technicians are free to tinker with improvements in the ERW. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VIETNAM THREE YEARS LATER

How could the U.S. and Washington have lost the Vietnam War, especially since they had effectively won it in 1972? Credit must go to Lyndon Johnson and his Joint Chiefs of Staff, for failure to take a leaf from the Soviet book

Looking Back on a Lost Opportunity

COLIN S. GRAY

In America's perspective, the war in Vietnam should serve future generations as a textbook case of politico-military malpractice. It is useful to begin with the stating of a key paradox: the United States which performed so poorly in Vietnam was that same United States which had, by general recognition, the most sophisticated defense-analysis establishment in the world. While conducting the war in Vietnam, the U.S. defense establishment was also seeking to "educate" the Russians in some of the finer nuances of American-style strategic and arms-control theory. How could a defense community which was (apparently) the envy of the civilized world also have presided over the American war effort in Vietnam? The answer to this question is of enduring significance to Western security, since it broaches the whole issue of America's style in statecraft, including the conduct of war.

For good reasons, most Americans appear convinced that their country lost the war in Vietnam. This is not quite true. The facts are that the United States and the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) had effectively won the war by mid- to late 1972, and then—in America's case, at least—proceeded to discard that victory. The real disasters for South Vietnam were the so-called Paris Peace Accords signed on January 27, 1973 and the subsequent fall-off in the level of American military assistance. The Accords served their *American* purposes: they brought about the release of American POWs; they served as (temporary) cover for the total withdrawal of the United States from the war, "with honor," as President Nixon had promised; and they provided an interval (perhaps not a "decent interval," but an interval nonetheless) before the military *dénouement*.

Unfortunately, there was very little honor (or politico-military common sense) about the American performance over the two years following January 27, 1973. The Accords were not policed and were not enforced. North Vietnam was granted vitally needed breathing space to recover from its cumulative disasters from 1968 to 1972, while South Vietnam was deprived (courtesy of congressional vetoes) of the military supplies necessary to sustain even a minimally effective defense capability. Americans should pose this question: How could it be that the militarily defeated side as of January 1973 managed to secure a complete, old-fashioned military victory on the ground early in 1975?

Saigon *v.* Hanoi

The answer is obvious. In 1973-74 the North Vietnamese violated every possible provision of the Accords that could be violated with substantial profit, and enjoyed massive resupply from their socialist friends, while South Vietnam was starved of the logistical support that a reasonably modern army needs to function (e.g., aviation fuel, artillery ordnance, and—above all—spare parts). By 1973-75 the war in Vietnam had long ceased to be dominated by guerrilla and counter-guerrilla operations; the campaigns of 1974-75, like those of 1972, were conventional enterprises involving uniformed regular divisions, tanks, and artillery. For all serious purposes, the Vietcong were virtually destroyed in the Tet Offensive of early 1968—the 40,000-plus losses taken by the enemy in that offensive were concentrated primarily among Vietcong cadres. The rural pacification programs of 1968-72 essentially completed the task of eliminating the Vietcong from serious contention. The conflict had always really been between Saigon and Hanoi; the events of 1968-71 served to highlight this fact. Following the military disaster (for the Vietcong) of Tet 1968, there could no longer be any question of the North Vietnamese merely assisting in a struggle carried on by indigenous elements in the South.

Notwithstanding all of the agonizing over it, the war in Vietnam came down to this: Would the North conquer the South, or would it not? The final tragedy in early 1975 attested to the truth of two axioms: 1) an army with ample military supplies has a major advantage over an army that is ill supplied; and 2) an army on the defensive finds it extremely difficult to stage a deliberate retreat. The Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) did not manage to achieve an "orderly withdrawal" or to secure a second line of resistance, which is scarcely surprising. Americans who criticize what the ARVN did in late 1974-75 should use a little histori-

Mr. Gray, a former assistant director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, is a professional staff member of the Hudson Institute. His books include The Soviet-American Arms Race *and the forthcoming* Strategic Studies and Public Policy: The American Experience.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cal perspective. For example, the "withdrawal" of the Wehrmacht from the Ukraine in 1944 was actually very largely the rout of a disorganized rabble (a judgment which applies even to the elite division of the Wehrmacht, the *Gross Deutschland*). The UN disaster in North Korea in November-December 1950 merits attention also. In other words, far better military organizations than the ARVN have failed to bring off orderly withdrawals. South Vietnam's military collapse early in 1975 reveals little about the rightness of Saigon's cause, and—perhaps to the surprise of some readers—very little about the relative virtues of the ARVN and the North Vietnamese Army (NVA).

LBJ's Flaw

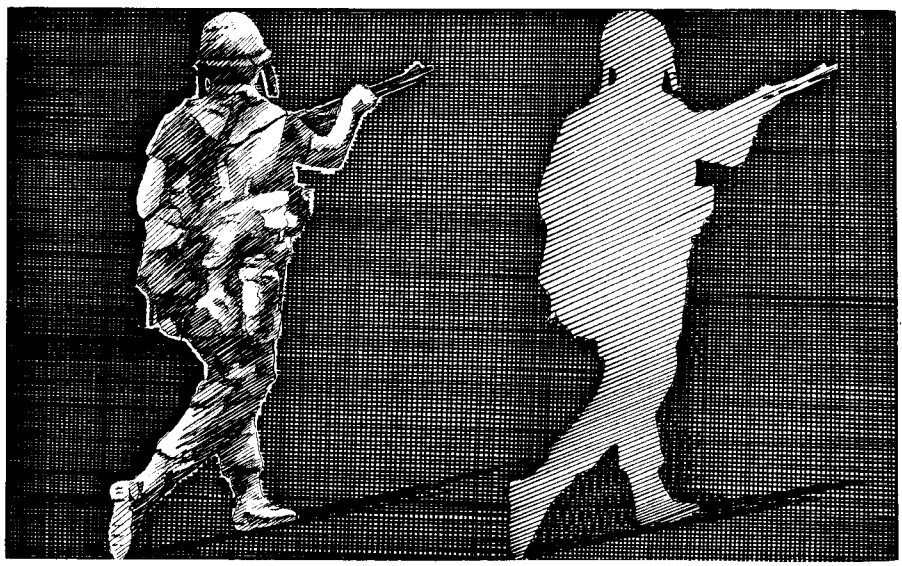
1972 saw the proper application of American airpower against North Vietnam for the first time. At last an American Administration sought to isolate North Vietnam from its source of essential foreign military supplies. The mining of North Vietnamese harbors and the interdiction of rail lines to China succeeded magnificently. By the end of 1972, North Vietnam lacked material means to continue the war—hence, in fact, the "breakthrough" of the Paris Peace Accords in January 1973. The United States then proceeded to surrender what had just been won by active military effort. At the very point where American and ARVN military power should have been used to eject all (or nearly all) North Vietnamese forces from South Vietnam and to punish North Vietnam to a degree it would have found intolerable, the United States instead declared peace and removed itself from the scene.

By 1973, of course, that was probably all that could be done. The American body politic had decided that it had had enough of Vietnam. Therefore, it would seem that any measure of military success in Vietnam in the early 1970s occurred too late. President Nixon's record in Vietnam, until the Paris Peace Accords of January 1973, was excellent. But he was too late on the scene to effect more than a face-saving withdrawal. It is possible that a Nixon not obsessed with Watergate in 1973 might have braved a real confrontation with the Congress and resorted to strong military measures in response to the growing evidence of massive North Vietnamese violations of the Peace Accords.

But the United States should never have been in the situation in which it found itself in Vietnam in the early 1970s. The war should have and could have been *won* between 1965 and 1968. No American President should send American soldiers into war in the absence of a plausible concept of victory. The guilty men were President Johnson, his Cabinet officers in the national security area, and, perhaps above all, the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In 1964, when President Johnson determined to intervene in Vietnam in a serious way, no one addressed the question: What will it take to win in this theater? Perhaps more to the point, seemingly no one asked what was the character of the opposition. The official line that the conflict in Vietnam was a case of "aggression from the North" (to cite the title of a famous State Department publication) was far truer than its official standard-bearers appreciated. The Vietcong were proxies for Hanoi, at least early on, though they might have become more than that had they succeeded in effecting a "Titoist" solution prior to the major commitment of NVA elements. (The first regular NVA regiment was committed to the South in the fall of 1964.) The war in Vietnam always was about the issue: Would Hanoi conquer the South, or would it not? But more than 90 per cent of the analyses of the Vietnam War produced in the United States in the mid- to late 1960s chose to ignore that.

Clausewitz observed that war has its own grammar, but not its own logic. American involvement on the ground in Southeast Asia had to make sense in terms of broad-scale political purposes. Unfortunately, it was no more clear at the time than it is now in retrospect that such involvement actually did serve even regional ends. President Johnson's logic seems to have proceeded as follows: The American stake in South Vietnam is very limited; therefore, American military support should be proportionally limited. This logic contained a flaw which was grossly underappreciated by American limited-war theorists in the late 1950s and early 1960s (and by the politicians and officials who "signed on" for the new strategy): namely, that the limited application of military power is a reliable prescription only for stalemate or, should the adversary be bent upon winning, for defeat.

It is intriguing to ask whether the success the ARVN and the U.S. had achieved by 1972 might not have been achieved much earlier with application of a more intelligent strategy. The final phase of the war in Vietnam, from the fall of Phuoc Binh (the capital of Ho Huoc Long province) on January 7, 1975 until the fall of Saigon on April 30, 1975, illustrated in dramatic fashion what had been wrong with the Ameri-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can/ARVN approach to the war all along. Specifically, any strategy which surrenders *both* the tactical and the strategic initiative to the enemy is bound to fail. Unless the enemy is very weak, he can control his casualties and logistic expenditures and, very generally, take as much or as little of the war as he chooses. By late 1974, the ARVN was overextended in the defense of fixed positions throughout the country, yet was becoming critically short of the military supplies (particularly spare parts) which made its extended deployment viable.

No Sanctuary

The war in Vietnam was eminently winnable, but to win it President Johnson would have had to license military operations in 1965-67 of a scope transcending his judgment as to the character of America's political stake in the war. Wars either are waged effectively or they are not. American policymakers in the mid-1960s appeared to believe that somehow they could square a circle —they could limit the risks of escalation (and contain American costs) without impairing the quality of the military support that we were providing. There was probably only one way to wage war effectively in defense of Vietnam, and this way should have been identified and insisted upon (on pain of noisy resignations) by the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the day. The American military should have told President Johnson that South Vietnam was indeed defensible, provided the NVA could be kept fully occupied *outside* the South.

Had the ARVN been given intelligent American assistance, the Vietcong would have posed a very manageable mix of problems. General Westmoreland's "search and destroy" operations in marginally populated quarters of South Vietnam were justly criticized, but from the wrong point of view. The United States Army and Marine Corps should have been charged, first and foremost, with keeping NVA regular formations out of South Vietnam altogether. How might this have been accomplished?

First, the United States should have rejected altogether the idea of enemy sanctuaries in the South. (Is one waging war in a responsible fashion, or is one *playing* at war?) Second, the American military should have told the President in very specific detail the steps that needed to be taken in order to keep the NVA out of South Vietnam. Above all, a substantial fraction of North Vietnam immediately above the DMZ on the 17th Parallel should have been invaded *and held* pending a negotiated outcome to the conflict. In addition, NVA and Vietcong bases in Cambodia should have been destroyed while a (semi-)permanent American military presence should have been established there to prevent (not merely discourage) any local recoupment of North Vietnamese losses. Two or more American divisions should have occupied those portions of the Laotian Panhandle of critical importance to the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Finally, North Vietnam should have been sealed off from the outside world, courtesy of an intensive interdiction bombing campaign against the rail lines to China and the mining (and bombing, when targets appeared) of all important harbors in, and harbor aproaches to, the country. This prescription sounds extreme only by way of contrast to actual American behavior in Indochina prior to 1972. If Vietnam was a war, like other wars, then the above measures are obviously correct.

It is *not* argued in this article that the United States should necessarily have taken the military measures specified above. Instead, it is argued that the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the period 1964-65 should have told President Johnson that if he insisted upon intervening militarily in Indochina, this was the way to do it. Military half- or quarter-measures do not produce equivalent political results: rather they produce defeat or, at best, the kind of stalemate that a democratic society cannot long endure. Western commentators who should have known better insisted that the war could only be won in the South. What the legion of commentators neglected to point out was that the war could always be lost in the North. In support of my thesis I offer, very simply, the actual events of 1972-75—bereft of political interpretation. Like it or not, it is a fact of history that South Vietnam was conquered by a foreign invading army between December 1974 and April 1975. This was a totally *conventional* campaign: the NVA beat the ARVN. Had this conventional threat been contained/defeated in the way suggested above, preferably supported by a not-incredible ARVN threat to reunite Vietnam on Saigon's terms, the tragedy of 1974-75 could not possibly have happened.

This analysis is vulnerable, superficially, to the charge that it neglects domestic South Vietnamese considerations. I would argue that, in fact, the war was *won* domestically, and *lost* externally. The Vietcong did not take Saigon; that honor was reserved for the NVA. The NVA problem was always understood in Washington—even in periods when foolish commentators waxed lyrical on the virtues of the Vietcong —but it was not accorded a militarily sensible policy response. If the NVA could not be kept more or less fully occupied outside of South Vietnam, then any progress within South Vietnam would be temporary in character. Following Tet 1968, the *only* threat to Saigon was the NVA.

Many readers may believe that America's stakes in Southeast Asia were not worth the risk implicit in the invasion of a socialist country. I have no quarrel with that belief. My point is that when a President commits well over half a million Americans to war, he should do so only for serious political reasons, and with a fair prospect of success. Either the United States was waging war against North Vietnam in such a way that its conquest of the South was frustrated, or it was not. For the NVA to be kept occupied at home, Hanoi had to be convinced of a major threat to the territorial integrity of the North. Given intelligent policymaking in Washington, such a perception of threat on the part of the North Vietnamese could have been well founded.

The Roots of Folly

The Linebacker I and II air bombardment campaigns of 1972 (plus the mining of harbors) produced a fair semblance of victory for Saigon and Washington. How much more effective might Saigon/U.S. policy have been had such campaigns been unleashed in 1966-67, in concert with an American military invasion/occupation of the Cambodian base areas, the Laotian

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Panhandle, and the southernmost section of North Vietnam? In the course of the final campaign of 1974-75, Hanoi was at liberty to deploy in the South whatever forces it found convenient and could supply. Under the scheme envisioned in this article, Hanoi would have needed every man to defend its home base—it could not have indulged in military intervention in South Vietnam.

The roots of American folly in Vietnam are not difficult to trace. For nearly a decade (1956-65), American defense intellectuals had been theorizing about "limited war." They argued that the advent of (that is, the *bilateral* Soviet and American acquisition of) nuclear weapons meant that limited wars were the only kind the superpowers could afford to wage. Books, theses, and articles by the score developed the new orthodoxy. Henry Kissinger, Thomas Schelling, Paul Nitze, Robert Osgood, James King, and many lesser lights argued convincingly that military power must serve political purposes. The traditional American tendency to resort to war belatedly and then wage it so that the adversary was buried beneath the weight of American matériel was challenged as no longer relevant. We were told that "limited war" was "the challenge to American strategy."

By and large, the theorists forgot, or at least understated, the following considerations: American society is almost heroically ill-equipped to stand the frustrations of protracted, limited war. (Virtually every conceivable "lesson" of Vietnam had been learned, indeed overlearned and even mis-learned, in the Korean War, save probably the most important: namely, the Vietnam War became very unpopular indeed in the U.S.) War is a two-party enterprise, which makes the United States very vulnerable to an adversary determined to *win* (crude though such an objective may appear to sophisticated theoreticians). And finally, the American theorists of limited war focused far too much upon the adjective in that phrase and not nearly enough upon the noun—they were not sufficiently serious about the phenomenon of war.

Carthaginian Peace

The problem American policymakers never came to grips with in an adequate way was the ability of North Vietnam, albeit at a high cost, to project military power southward at a level roughly of its own choosing. By way of an imperfect analogy, one can specify dozens of reasons of a domestic character why the Roman Empire deserved to fall. But, finally, one has to admit that the whole rotten structure collapsed because there were insufficient loyal legions at the right places at the right times to keep the barbarians out. Even had the government in Saigon in the early 1970s been far more competent and committed to democratic practices than was the case, the fact remained that to the North lay a country totally dedicated to the "liberation" of the South.

The problem with "limited war" is that it is unwinnable save via the taking of actions that seem grossly disproportionate to the political interests at stake. To win in Vietnam, in a mode likely to withstand a few years of unruly "peace," really required the United States to impose, or promise credibly to impose, some facsimile of a Carthaginian peace upon the North Vietnamese. General Curtis LeMay was much vilified for talking about (to paraphrase) bombing them back into the Stone Age, but his instincts were sounder than were those of his critics. To achieve its objectives in Vietnam, the United States had to *defeat* North Vietnam (or convince North Vietnam that it faced defeat). This point should have been entirely obvious to the United States Government in 1964-65. Sad to say, the United States could and should take a leaf out of the Soviet book. When there is a military job to be done—as in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968—enough military force should be applied to secure the political objectives in very short order.

The waging of war is the business of Presidents (and legislators, to a much lesser degree); the conduct of military campaigns should be the business of generals. Sensible Presidents should hire and fire theater commanders until they find one who is competent. It is up to the President to decide whether, say, the seizure of North Vietnamese real estate is, or is not, within the rules of engagement, but he is unlikely to be able to make a sound decision on such an issue unless the military consequences of acting or desisting are explained to him in some detail. What the United States could not afford were generals who would proffer unsound military advice because such advice accorded with presidential expectations, or because the content of such advice was fashionable. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Ætna, heal thyself."

In recent months, Ætna has been blunt in criticizing some expensive flaws in America's health care system.

Our bluntness has brought us, in return, equally blunt criticism of ourselves:

A hospital administrator from Illinois says that Ætna's *own*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

insurance plans have encouraged overuse of hospitals—since we pay for some procedures only when the insured person is hospitalized, even though out-patient treatment might cost less. (He's right. Some plans do this. We need to work harder to change them.[1])

Several doctors asked how we could claim to "give consumers a stake in holding down costs" when we're still selling health insurance that has little or no deductible.[2]

Another physician says that skyrocketing malpractice insurance premiums have forced him to increase the charges to his patients.[3]

Another accuses Ætna of "scapegoatism" and "kicking the dog," and a hospital representative contends "you attack us."[4]

To these last charges we plead "not guilty." Our criticism is aimed at the *health care system* and not at doctors or hospitals—although all participants (including Ætna) must share some responsibility. Most worthwhile changes in society bring with them strong disagreements and public debate. Slowing the runaway costs of this system needs open discussion now. Ætna will keep focusing on the flaws we see. And we'll keep welcoming—and responding to—the views of those who disagree with us most strongly.

Ætna wants insurance to be affordable.

[1]In the last few years we've intensified our efforts to correct this imbalance: Ætna health insurance plans are covering more and more kinds of out-patient care. Examples: Post-hospital convalescent facilities (since 1969); free-standing ambulatory surgical centers (since 1973); pre-admission testing (experimentally since 1970—now being extended nationally); and post-hospital home health care already available in many plans.

[2]This is also true. Although Ætna has been stressing the value of deductibles and co-insurance since the mid-1950's, the physicians' criticism is fair: we *are* still writing insurance plans that have no deductibles for hospital charges. The pressure to "give the customer what he wants" is a constant in business. Ætna, like most insurers, has given in to it too many times when it may not have been in society's long-term interest.

[3]An increase, starting in the early 1970's, in the number and size of liability suits caught insurers by surprise, and drastically forced up premiums to cover legal costs, court awards and out-of-court settlements. Part of the solution, Ætna believes, is to reform an increasingly *dis*-torted tort law system. This is a subject as controversial and important as the health care system itself.

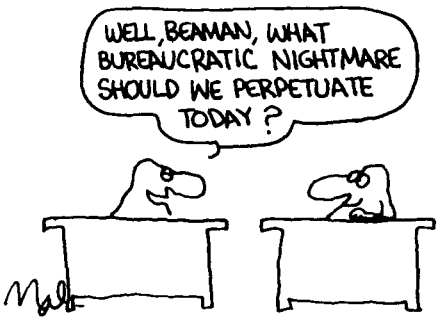
[4]In response to our earlier advertisements, several doctors wrote along these lines: "Ætna, being a large company, can afford to take pages in national magazines and push its opinions; I, as a private practitioner of medicine, obviously cannot." This advertisement is a recognition of that point of view. But we don't think that any of us involved in the health care system can afford to overlook our own contribution to the problem. Each of us should give some criticism, take some—*and act on it.*

Ætna
LIFE & CASUALTY

Ætna Life & Casualty,
151 Farmington Avenue,
Hartford, CT 06156

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help !!!!



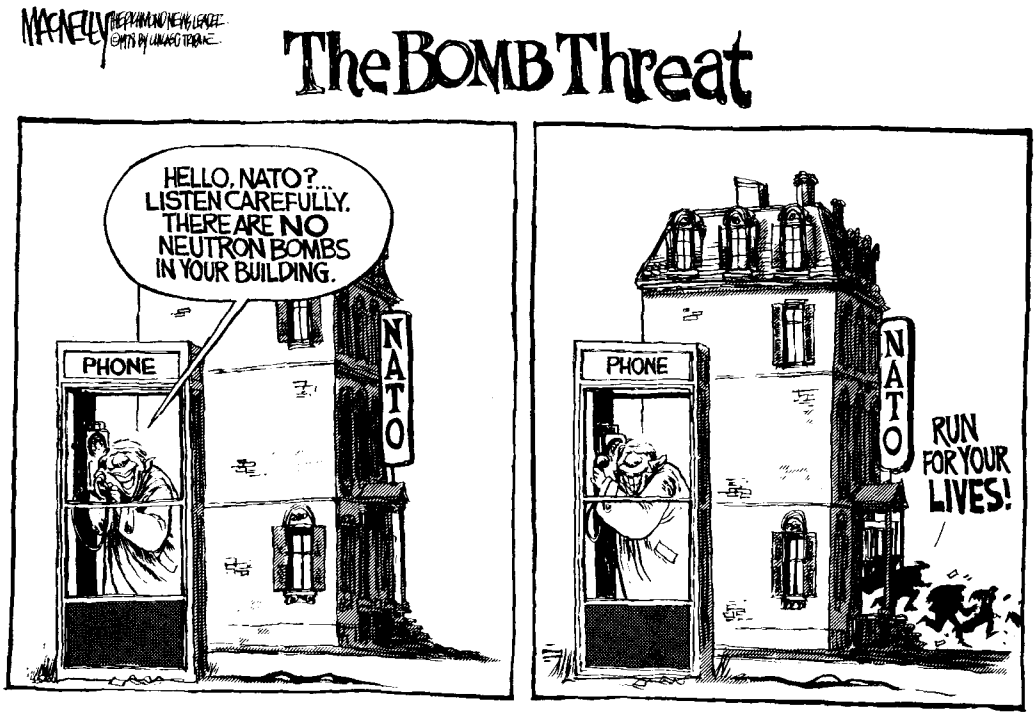
"It's the dawn of civilization and already I'm worried about money!"

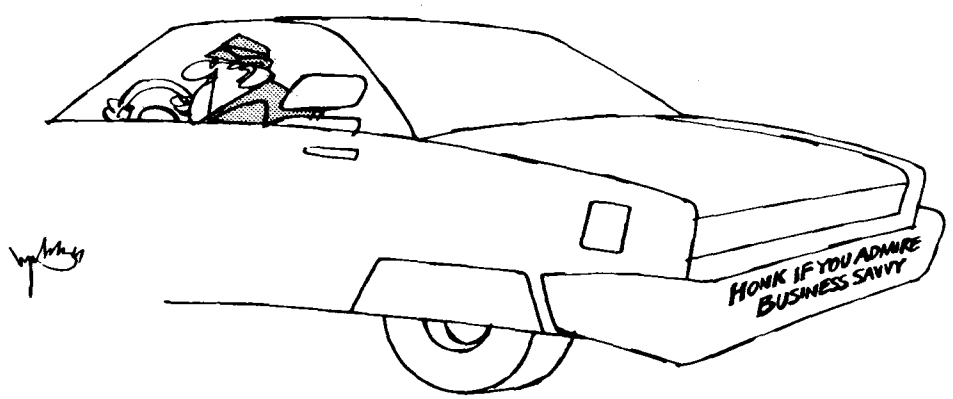
GIMME GIMME GIMME GIMME GI
ME GIMME GIMME GIMME GIMME
GIMME GIMME GIMME GIMME GI
ME GI GIMME
GIMME MME GI
ME GI E GIMME
GIMME MME GI
ME GIMME GIMME GIMME GIMME
GIMME GIMME GIMME GIMME GI
ME GIMME GIMME GIMME GIMME

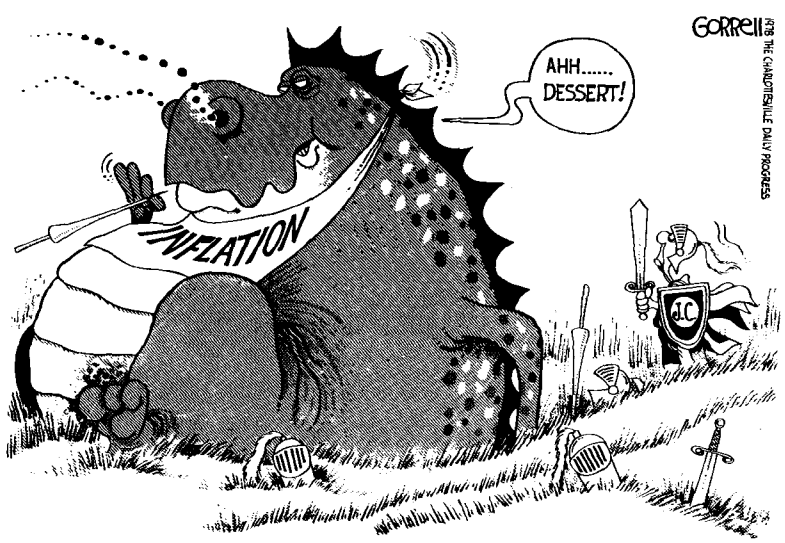
1. SPECIAL BACKDROP AND CHAIR COVERING FOR WORLD CONFERENCE ON PAST DEPRIVATIONS.
2. ACRYLIC TILE DESIGN FOR UPWARDLY MOBILE MINIMUM WAGE FLOOR.
3. END PAPERS FOR SPOCK-ORIENTED CHILD-CARE MANUAL.

From Authorized Pre-"Edited" version of *The Boggle*, by John Kreuttner.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED







Friendship

(Sung by Mr. Lance.)

If you're ever feeling hurt,
Call on Bert;
When they give you itchy pants,
Send for Lance.
And when Begin says he's gonna destroy
Your ploy, I'm your *goy*.
It's friendship, friendship . . .
What a perfect friendship!
When Bell is banished and Jordan's through,
I will still be true.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AN ANALYSIS

Marching Through Skokie

HADLEY ARKES

WILL THE NAZIS finally march in Skokie? They have sought to stage their demonstration in the suburbs of Chicago since May of last year, and until very recently there seemed to be a concert between the state and federal courts to strike down every legal obstacle that might have prevented the Nazis from marching. But suddenly the declamations were suspended and judicial minds were concentrated anew, with the mounting evidence that other groups would be coming to Skokie with the intention of meeting the Nazis in the street with a show of violence. In February Judge Bernard Decker of the Federal District Court had swept away the restrictions on the Nazis and warned against the danger of "permitting the government to decide what its citizens may say and hear." By the end of March, however, Judge Decker issued a restraining order to postpone the demonstration (and, presumably, the "principle" he articulated) for another 45 days.*

In this manner the courts have managed to create the worst of all possible worlds. They have been given the chance over several months to restrain the Nazis on grounds of jurisprudential principles that are fundamental to a democratic order. What they chose to do instead was to affirm the view that a democracy has *no* principles by which to judge the Nazis—but then to restrain the Nazis anyway without the benefit of principles: the courts have established now that the Nazis have the wildest claims to constitutional freedom, but that their freedom of expression may be restricted so long as hostile groups show a willingness to use violence. The result, in short, has been decidedly antilibertarian. Instead of using the occasion to teach something about the principles that define legitimate interests and expression, the courts have given credence to the most cynical understanding of the law—viz., that the law is merely a polite form in which the force of the many may govern the few.

But of course it is not the mission of the Nazis to attach the people ever more strongly to the institutions and laws of a democratic society, and so whether they march or not, they will have accomplished a large portion of their ends: they will have caused urbane citizens of all classes to regard the courts as witless and the laws as amoral.

THE CHOICE of Skokie as a target was clearly not inadvertent. Of the 69,000 people in Skokie, about 40,000 are Jews, and of the Jewish refugees from Europe who came to Chicago between 1930 and 1960, most are thought to have settled in Skokie. A group called Survivors of the Holocaust was organized in the metropolitan area, and of the 12,000 members of this group, 7,000 were living in Skokie. Skokie was not chosen by the Nazis, then, because it was the most promising place in which to recruit new members or hold a discussion about the substantive "program" of the party. The aim of the march, very plainly, was to gather attention and create an effect that was well out of proportion to the actual size of the group (which apparently comprises thirty to fifty members). The Nazis could easily accomplish that end by marching into a community of Jews with the full trappings of their symbolism—the uniforms, the caps, the swastikas on arms and flags; by presenting, in short, the kind of spectacle that should elicit outrage among decent people of any persuasion, and by counting on the fact that the public outrage would be sure to attract the attention of the media.

As recently as 15 years ago in this country, this kind of spectacle would have been seen perfectly clearly for what it was: a deliberate attempt to provoke a population to violence—which is to say, an attempt to provoke *without justification*. It was well understood that the entrance

*Judge Decker's order was affirmed by an appellate panel of three judges, but then, on the motion of the one dissenting judge, the case was brought before the entire appellate court sitting *en banc*. The Court decided, on a narrow point of law, to reverse the previous decisions on the restraining order: since the Nazis had not actually applied for a permit to march in Skokie, the Court thought it premature to issue the restraining order. The Nazis have now officially applied for a permit to march in June, and the question will be posed again. Some observers on the scene think the appellate court might well act in the end to uphold a restraining order; but it appears now that the argument over the restraining order will be made before the Supreme Court, at the same time that the Court considers the appeal of Skokie in defending its restrictions on the Nazis.

Mr. Arkes, a professor of political science at Amherst, was born and educated in Chicago. He has just completed a book on The Moral Foundations of Urban Politics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the police or clergy into a tough neighborhood could provoke the local denizens to fury, but that was not the kind of provocation from which the law sought to protect people. What the law sought to proscribe were demonstrations that stood, in effect, as assaults, and it was hard to find a professor of law who was not alert to these differences. Even the most committed civil libertarians were willing to concede that the law might properly restrain the Ku Klux Klan if that organization sought to stage an entertainment for its own benefit by marching through Harlem. And what was plausible to most of our own scholars of law barely more than a decade ago has remained plausible to the friends of constitutional government in other countries. The British were compelled to make use of their authority in Northern Ireland a few years ago to stop a series of reciprocal provocative marches by Protestants into Catholic areas and Catholics into Protestant areas—marches that persistently sparked violence, and that were conceived with that purpose in mind.

It was in this tradition of governing demonstrations in the streets that the Village of Skokie sought an injunction to restrain the Nazis, and the injunction was granted by a county court. The injunction was later amended slightly to prohibit the Nazis from marching or parading with their uniforms and insignia, and (according to one report) "from distributing pamphlets or displaying any materials that incite or promote hatred against persons of Jewish faith or ancestry or other persons." After a series of appeals to the highest courts at the state and federal levels, these restrictions were struck down and the injunction dissolved. In the meantime, though, another injunction was sought against the Nazis by residents of Skokie who were survivors of the Holocaust. These people claimed that the advent of the Nazis to their neighborhood would be the source of a special injury or emotional strain for them by reviving many of the traumas they associated with their experience in the war. This suit is still making its way through the courts.

Ordinarily one can hope that the expense and fatigue of litigation may generate their own benign effects; but the Nazis have been buoyed up in this long process by the support—and the special skills—of the American Civil Liberties Union. The implications of this support have not been lost on Jewish members of the ACLU, and the reaction has been so severe that the ACLU has lost (by some accounts) nearly 25 per cent of its members. All of this, however, may simply confirm to the leaders of the ACLU that the sensibilities they possess on these matters are not commonly distributed among the population at large, or even among most of their own sustaining members.

For the leadership of the ACLU, it would be accurate to say that there is ultimately no "truth" in matters political—that all ideas about the proper form of government over men come to rest at the end on personal beliefs or opinions, which cannot finally be measured as true or false. As far at least as the right to speak is concerned, the case for a regime of law and the case for a regime of genocide must be counted, in this view, as equally deserving of a claim *to be heard* and (ultimately) approved by the public. David Hamlin, the executive director of the Illinois division of the ACLU, was moved to say, regarding the Nazis, that "the First Amendment . . . affords us the unique opportunity to hear every *imaginable* idea, and to voice our opinions on any one. *It protects all ideas—popular or despised*, good or bad . . . so that each of us can make a free and intelligent choice." (Emphasis added.) In Mr. Hamlin's understanding, it is a matter of being "popular" *or* "despised": to be despised is to be "unpopular." It is apparently no part of his own understanding that certain things are in themselves, in principle, despicable.

Mr. Hamlin is quite plain on the point that we must be free to hear the Nazis in order to preserve our freedom to *choose* the Nazis if we wish. But of course the Constitution was never meant to be neutral in this way about the choice between despotism and free government. The Founders understood that the case for government by consent began with a self-evident truth grounded in nature; as Madison put it during the first Congress, the natural equality of human beings—their capacity for self-governing—had to be understood as an "absolute truth." And if the political order was indeed established on a necessary, self-evident truth, the perspective represented by the Nazis simply cannot be treated for a moment as plausible and legitimate. It cannot be regarded as plausible, that is, without calling into question the truth of those premises on which all constitutional rights depend. In the last analysis, then, it is a mistake to pretend that the Constitution is indifferent to the character and ends of the Nazis.

The Court has never overturned the precedents that provided the foundation at an earlier time for the restriction of injurious speech

What the Constitution commends, however, may be one thing; what the Supreme Court has wrought in recent years is another. At this moment our law faces in two directions. On the one hand the Supreme Court has eroded those standards that the law has used over the years to restrain assaults carried out through speech or expression. A majority of the Court has even gone so far as to suggest that there is no principled way to mark off forms of speech that are insulting or defamatory, as against forms of speech that are neutral or inoffensive. Working on this assumption, the Court has made it very difficult to sustain any local ordinance on "provocative" and insulting speech, and, as a result of the decisions that have been taken in this vein over the last seven years, it does in fact become harder to restrain the Nazis in their march in Skokie.

But on the other hand the Court has never overturned the precedents that provided the foundation at an earlier time for the restriction of injurious speech. In fact, the Court has found it necessary in recent years to firm up its commitments to those older precedents; when it comes to the matter of confirming the power of local governments to restrain obscenity and public lewdness, the Court has been compelled to explain, in a more traditional, familiar voice, that not all forms of speech and expression can claim the protection of the Constitution.

The authority that the Court cites most importantly on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these occasions is the classic case of *Chaplinsky* v. *New Hampshire*, which was decided by a unanimous Court in 1942. In the passage that is cited most often from that case, Justice Murphy argued for the Court that

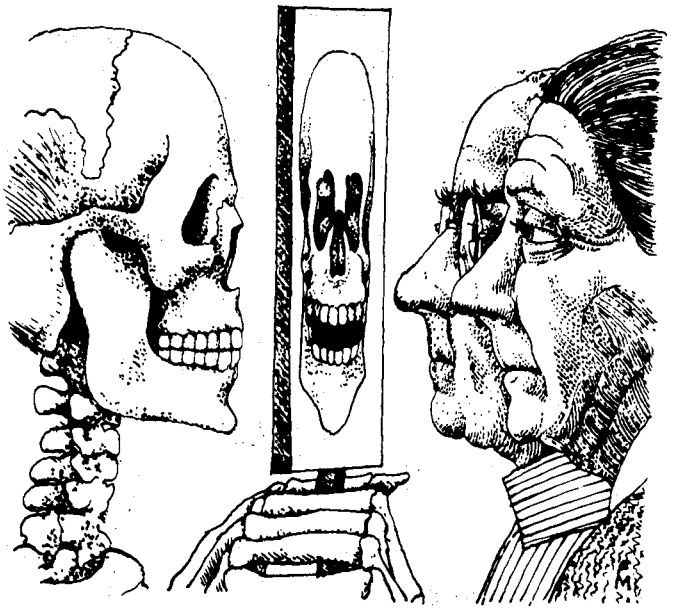
> there are certain well-defined and narrowly limited classes of speech, the prevention and punishment of which have never been thought to raise any constitutional problem. These include the lewd and obscene, the profane, the libelous, and the insulting or "fighting" words—those which *by their utterance inflict injury* or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace. It has been well observed that such utterances are *no essential part of any exposition of ideas*, and are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality. [Emphasis added.]

When the ACLU came to offer its brief for the Nazis in Skokie it insisted that the concept of "fighting" words applied only to personal epithets that arose in "face-to-face" encounters. For some reason it seemed to be assumed that these personal encounters were more likely to "incite an immediate breach of the peace" (more likely, say, than attacks that were made on a whole racial or religious group). At the same time, since the test in *Chaplinsky* was narrowed to assaults of the most personal nature, it was argued that the holding was not meant to cover speech with a larger political significance. In these interpretations the ACLU was essentially following the direction of the Court in recent years, as a majority of the Court has sought to narrow the holding in *Chaplinsky*. But as the four Nixon appointees have continued to point out in dissent, that novel rendering leaves out half of the formula in *Chaplinsky*—and the part that has given *Chaplinsky* its fuller reach and significance.

Justice Murphy had not limited the holding in *Chaplinsky* to speech of a merely personal nature that was likely to elicit violence. His judgment also encompassed words "which by their utterance inflict injury," even if they are not accompanied by overt acts that involve a physical assault. In that respect the opinion served to remind us that, in the strictest understanding of the law, "assaults" have not required bodily contact: they may be carried out just as effectively by assailants who deliberately stop short of touching the victim's body, as in the case of one who strikes at a person and intentionally misses, or one who points a loaded—or for that matter even an unloaded—pistol at another person. The assaults in these acts are implicit in the gestures, and they may be punished even without waiting for bodily injury.

In that sense the case helped to remind us, too, that there is such a thing as psychological injury or shock, which may be quite as grave—and as much of a concern in the eyes of the law—as an assault on one's body, or a broken leg. When all of these points were taken together, the *Chaplinsky* case suggested in a rather compelling way that people had a claim to be protected from unprovoked or unjustified assaults (including verbal or psychological assaults) when they ventured into a public place.

That is not all there was, of course, to the *Chaplinsky* case, but it does suggest the features that have made *Chaplinsky* a case of such enduring importance. In a far more satisfying manner than any other court decision, *Chaplinsky* was able to account for the grounds on which we would be justified in calling the police, for example, and ordering a crowd to "move along" in those cases where nearly everyone would agree that the crowd *should*, in decency, be dispersed, even though there is only speech or expression involved. One need only imagine, in a hypothetical case, that a crowd gathers before the house of the first black family to move into the neighborhood. No violence is initiated; no rocks or bottles are thrown. The crowd merely stands there, perhaps chanting in a low tone, and, as the day wears on, the crowd may go long stretches in which it makes no sound at all. There is no breach of the peace, nor even anything that fits the usual notion of a public disturbance. But when the people leave the house they have to face the crowd, and the crowd simply stands there, intimidating by its very presence.



Since the crowd refrains from violence it might be said that it is engaged in a "peaceable assembly" or perhaps even a form of public protest. For despite the fact that the harassment is aimed at a private family, the gathering of the crowd has a larger political significance: the aim of the crowd, quite clearly, is to have an effect on the character of the community by keeping blacks out. In pursuing this form of intimidation outside the law, the object is to discourage the members of the family from exercising rights that are theirs in the law, and perhaps also to frustrate the ends of a public policy that seeks to bring down the barriers to racial integration. The fact that the crowd refrains from speech or discussion is not enough in itself to reduce the event to an instance of "conduct" rather than "speech": it has already been established over a long train of cases that "expression" may cover symbolic acts or gestures that involve no speech or writing at all: e.g., the rendering of a flag salute, the burning of a draft card, the wearing of an armband.

If the police intervened and dispersed the crowd outside the house, they would clearly be restricting political expression; and yet it should be apparent that the police would be quite justified in intervening. But if the law can reach

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a case of this kind it is because it is possible to recognize the nature of the words and gestures themselves, *in the context in which they are used*, and understand that they were meant to intimidate or assault.

There has never been any serious doubt that speech bears a special significance in a republican system. Republican government begins with the understanding that the exercise of political power over others must be justified, and it sets about to ensure, through a variety of devices, that people in positions of authority are compelled to offer justifications for themselves. The politics of a republic is a politics that takes place through a public discourse over political things. As our own Founders understood, it is very important, then, for a republic to preserve a proper freedom of discussion about the central concerns of politics—i.e., about the conditions of justice in the society and the substantive ends of the state. The freedom to engage in discussion would be as large as any other freedom properly exercised. It would be restrained only in those instances in which it became the vehicle of injury (or "injustice") to others. At that moment, however, speech could claim no more protection than any other mode of freedom. The Founders rejected the rule of the censor and the conventions of "prior restraint" on publication. But they were uniform in their denunciation of a "licentious" press, and they assumed that the laws on defamation (both civil and criminal) would function as a form of redress against the injuries that were inflicted through speech.

And so, while the Founders understood that a republican regime was a regime of public discourse and conflict, they understood also that a republican regime was a regime of law before it was anything else. As a regime of law its first obligation was to render justice: to protect its citizens against harms that were inflicted on them unjustly, outside a process of law.

When it comes, therefore, to the American Nazis and their freedom of expression, the obligations of the regime

Long after logical positivism lost adherents in the academies, its discovery by Justice Harlan has passed for a revolution in the law

are nowhere near as one-sided as libertarians suggest. To the extent that the Nazis have any legitimate role to play at all in the political life of this Republic—a proposition I indulge only hypothetically—the most the polity is obliged to do is respect their liberty to hold meetings, conduct discussions, and make themselves part of the public discourse. But it is not obliged to let them make use of the public streets to carry the symbols of assault and genocide to the very homes of the people who would feel most acutely and properly threatened by them.

These understandings may all arise without strain on the premises of the law as it was—the law that was built on the foundation of the *Chaplinsky* case. The question at this moment is whether those older premises will be restored. The Court still relies, as I have said, on the authority of *Chaplinsky*, but a majority has abandoned the teachings of that case, and the abandonment became manifest in 1971 with Justice Harlan's remarkable opinion in *Cohen* v. *California*. There is not enough space here to treat that case in the detail it warrants or to chart the ways in which Justice Harlan managed to overturn every premise that was essential to the doctrine in *Chaplinsky*. The case involved a young man who walked through the corridors of the County Courthouse in Los Angeles wearing a jacket that bore the inscription "Fuck the Draft." Before it was over, Harlan had sought to deploy the full moral weight of the Constitution in order to protect the "speech" on Cohen's jacket as if it were a political statement on the order of the Federalist #10. And he could not accomplish that end without revising in a radical way the traditional understanding of "speech" (let alone the concept of propriety).

In a reversal of *Chaplinsky* Harlan argued that if speech contained a residue of political significance it was presumptively protected, no matter how injurious it may be, or how void of substantive content. If the speech was presumptively protected, the burden of avoidance fell to those who felt assaulted or offended by it (and it was thought proper, in this light, to ask the victim to turn away or go elsewhere rather than ask the assailant to restrain himself in public).

BUT THE CONVICTION that any sign or expression was "political" depended on the reliability with which it could be said that the sign conveyed a point or stated an argument. In the case of *Cohen*, Harlan was convinced that the jacket was presenting a statement—no less—on a matter of public policy. According to Harlan, what Cohen was doing with his jacket was "asserting [a] position on the inutility or immorality of the draft." And yet it should have been apparent that "Fuck the Draft" did not necessarily mean either one of those things—that the draft was "immoral" or "inutile." Very likely it meant neither. The profanity on the jacket, like most expressions that have acquired the status of "swear words," had a certain coarseness to it that was an important part of its meaning and of the purpose for which it was used. There was no substantive argument about the military draft that Cohen would have been prevented from making if he had merely been asked to remove his jacket (and his sign) in a public place. And for the same reason, there would be no decent substantive argument that the American Nazis would be prevented from making if they were merely restrained from carrying out a provocative march into the Jewish neighborhoods of Skokie.

But Harlan's opinion in the *Cohen* case ruled out this traditional understanding because it denied at its root that there were knowable differences any longer between decent and indecent expression. "One man's vulgarity," said Harlan, "is another's lyric," and it was precisely "because governmental officials cannot make principled distinctions in this area" that the Constitution left these "matters of taste and style so largely to the individual." What Harlan denied, then, was the existence of any standards for identifying speech that was truly offensive, because the offensiveness of the words depended entirely on the subjective feelings of the people who heard them. And therefore it could only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be, as he remarked, that the decision as to what language is fit for a public place must be left "largely [in] the hands of each of us."

With the full sweep of Harlan's opinion one comes to discover what it takes these days to gain a reputation for "modernity" and innovation in certain quarters of the legal profession: it requires the absorption, with an unwonted suddenness, of novel doctrines of philosophy thirty years *after* they have been discredited in the schools of philosophy. Long after the doctrines of "logical positivism" have lost their adherents in the academies, the discovery of these doctrines by Justice Harlan has been taken by many lawyers as a revolution in the law. The experience may merely remind us of the distance that has separated the schools of law from the discipline of philosophy, and it may confirm what has often been suspected: that much of what passes these days as jurisprudence is really nothing more than third-rate philosophy.

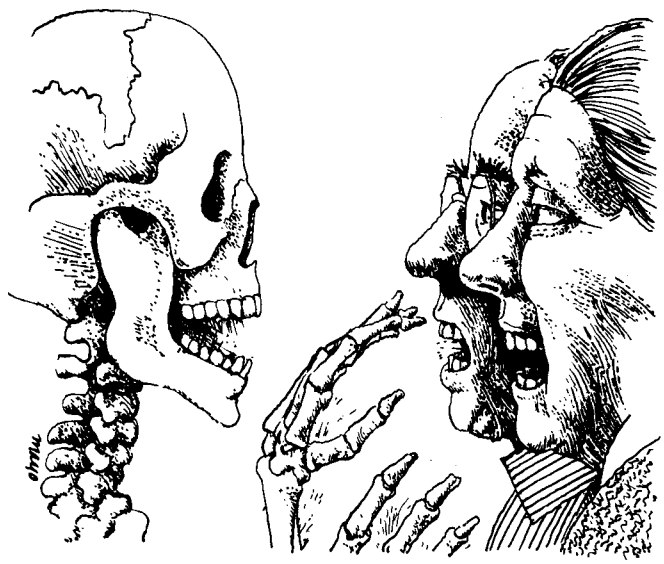
At the risk of oversimplification it may suffice here to say that the "logical positivists" were disposed to argue, with Justice Harlan, that statements which conveyed moral judgments were ultimately dependent on nothing more than subjective feelings or personal beliefs, and therefore they could not be reckoned as true or false in any strict sense. At most they were emotive statements that conveyed a sense of likes and dislikes. And so if someone condemned the use of narcotics, all one could say is that he "disliked" the use of narcotics (much in the way, as Mr. David Hamil says, that the residents of Skokie "dislike" the Nazis). One could not prove, in this view, that it is ultimately "right" or "wrong" to use narcotics (or to "dislike" the Nazis), any more than it is right or wrong, say, to like parsley.

But as the linguists would explain, the meaning of words cannot be as subjective and arbitrary as that. Moral terms have the function of commending and condemning, approving and rejecting, and they cannot play the role they do in our language—they cannot initiate a process of reasoned discourse over moral judgments—unless the people who use these words understand, when they use them, that they are condemning or commending a course of action to others. For that to be so, the words that serve the function of commending and condemning must be established rather plainly in common usage. The meaning of words, of course, may alter over time, and many pejorative terms, like "robber" or "thief," may be uttered in jest, or in circumstances that render their meaning innocent. But at any given moment, anyone who lives with a language every day must have a fairly reliable sense of the words that are fixed very clearly in the language as terms of insult and defamation, and the expressions that may be on the borderline between derision and neutrality.

If there is any lingering disposition to believe that offensive words or verbal assaults are entirely subjective in character, one need only apply this simple test: Ten years ago Governor George Romney was running in the presidential primary in New Hampshire, and in the heat of the campaign he referred to Senator Percy of Illinois as an "opportunist." When Percy took offense Romney sought to repair the damage. He explained that, when he called Percy an "opportunist" he simply meant that Percy was an intelligent man who took advantage of his opportunities. That is to say, he was merely "describing" Percy rather than judging him, and if anything, he suggested, his remark should have been taken as a compliment: he was actually commending Percy for alertness in rising to opportunities.

The measure of one's willingness to believe, with Justice Harlan, that expressions of insult or defamation depend on nothing more than the subjective feelings of the people who hear them, is one's willingness to believe Romney's account of what he meant.

These understandings were part of the perspective that was bound up with the *Chaplinsky* case, and the question again is, Where does that case now stand in our law? Two years after Justice Harlan's opinion in *Cohen* v. *California*, the Supreme Court confirmed a wide latitude of power to local governments in the regulation of obscenity. The Court invoked the *Chaplinsky* case as the foundation for its judgment in *Paris Adult Theatre* v. *Slaton*, and, in his opinion for the majority, Chief Justice Burger made it apparent that the invocation was more than a ritualistic exercise. Burger's substantive comments on the case followed the logic of the understanding in *Chaplinsky*, and indeed he seemed intent on pressing the point that the logic of *Chaplinsky* simply could not be displaced from the law: for the benefit, apparently, of some of his colleagues, the Chief Justice observed that the " 'live' performance of a man and woman locked in a sexual embrace at high noon in Times



Square [would not be] protected by the Constitution because they simultaneously engaged in a valid political dialogue." The Chief Justice surely must have known that, within the terms of Harlan's opinion in *Cohen* v. *California*, there would have been no basis on which to restrain an act of this kind.

Yet the law should be obliged to restrain this "expression," and it is Justice Murphy's opinion in *Chaplinsky* that explains, far more persuasively than anything else, the grounds on which the law may be exercised in this case. The couple could be restrained from their public gesture without interfering in any degree with their freedom to make any substantive arguments about the issues of the day. And because their sexual demonstration is not strictly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

necessary to "the exposition of ideas," the government might well be justified in acting out of a concern for the sensibilities of other people in a public place.

It would take a complicated argument, however, to explain just why a public display of sexual intercourse should be taken as an injury or offense to the public. The argument could be made, but it would be far more difficult than the argument that is needed to explain why Nazism is a wrong and why the presence of the Nazis in Skokie inflicts injuries. The wrongness of Nazism is of course separate from the palpable injuries that the American Nazis foster with their presence in the streets; but those injuries are clearly present.

A Supreme Court that knows why the couple may be restrained should be able to explain also why the Nazis may be restrained. The only question is whether the Court is prepared to overcome its recent distractions and admit to itself more fully that the teaching of *Chaplinsky* cannot be effaced in any society that would preserve the integrity of its public discourse and preserve itself, beyond everything else, as a decent society.

The wrongness of Nazism is of course separate from the injuries American Nazis foster; but those injuries are clearly present

For years, the ACLU has professed to believe, with Justice Holmes, that "the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market."* With all proper allowances for that curious proposition, one may still ask: What unresolved issue in the marketplace of ideas may the Nazis help to settle for us? In the judgment of the ACLU, is there something in the perspective of the Nazis which has a plausible claim to truth? If we restrict the speech of the Nazis is it conceivable that we may shield ourselves from ideas that may turn out one day to be valid? Is it possible, for example, that a convincing case could yet be made for genocide if people were given a bit more time to develop the argument? Might it be that the commitment to a democratic regime itself stands on premises that may be shown one day to be doubtful?

These possibilities could not be ruled out if, in fact, all judgments of moral right and wrong rested on nothing more than "opinion." But the wrongness of genocide arises from the concept of morals itself, and therefore no amount of discussion, now or in the future, could possibly have any effect on its moral status. The wrongness of the act inheres in the willingness to put to death a whole group of people with no reference to criminal acts, with no discriminations to be made between the innocent and the guilty. Genocide will continue to be wrong as long as the notion of morals itself exists—as long as it is possible to speak of the difference between innocence and guilt, of the difference between killings that are justified and those that are unjustified.

In the meantime, however, the ACLU is helping to preserve the Nazis as an established part of the public arena, and the public lessons that are drawn from the experience are not apt to be wholesome. If the ACLU bends its efforts, after all, to support a *right* of the Nazis to march, what other lesson does it hope to teach but that the Nazis must be regarded as *legitimate*—that their claim to exist and speak stands on the same plane of legitimacy as that of any other group within the country. But if the Nazis are legitimate, they cannot be dismissed out of hand as implausible, and if the perspective they represent is regarded as plausible, then the self-evident "truth" on which the American regime is founded cannot in fact be a "truth." It must be merely an "opinion," no more or less likely to be true than any other "opinion" about the nature of a good political regime, including the "opinion" represented by the Nazis.

But the consequence that arises from this understanding was set forth long ago by Lincoln: If democracy were not founded on a natural truth—on the capacity of human beings for moral judgment—then it had to be founded merely on "opinion": it had to arise merely because it was the form of government that happened to be approved by the opinions of a majority. And if the opinions of the majority were the only authoritative source of law, there could be no ground on which one could challenge the decisions of a majority in the name of a more fundamental law. It would be within the competence of a majority, then, to forgo democratic government for the entire society or to withdraw the protections of the Constitution from any minority. The irony is that the ACLU sees itself as defending at this moment the freedom of a minority, but the principles on which it mounts that defense would cut the ground out from under constitutional government itself and, in that sense, would also imperil the freedom of all minorities.

NEARLY TWO hundred years ago, when a current of calumnies directed at Catholics was running through England, Edmund Burke observed that "if it exists at all [in Bristol, the city he represented], the laws have crushed its exertions, and our morals have shamed its appearance in daylight." Burke spoke here out of a tradition that regarded the injuries inflicted through speech and expression as a species of injustice that the law was obliged to restrain. But he also understood the connection between the law and the climate of opinion that could support the law and render its strenuous exercise less necessary. As the ACLU seeks now to resist the use of the law in restraining acts of assault and intimidation, it is also seeking to alter in a radical way the understanding of the public about the foundations on which its own freedom is established. The result of this teaching, however, is to render those foundations less firm. The measure of the difference between our age and Burke's is that the lawyers and professionals who have borne the largest responsibility for the preservation of constitutional government no longer seem to understand the moral premises on which that government rests. □

*The self-contradictions contained in this proposition have been dealt with quite well by Walter Berns in *The First Amendment and the Future of American Democracy* (Basic Books, 1976).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM ROME

Ecumenists at Work

NICHOLAS KING

UNDER THE RUMOROUS eaves of the Palazzo Doria, beneath the tiled roof on which are spaced great terracotta pots of olive and oleander that overlook the fountains of arcaded courtyards, and frame, in the distance, the domes of Borromini and Michelangelo, is one of the more extraordinary institutions of ecumenical Christendom, which bears the prosaic name of Centro Anglicano and which, in effect, is the Anglican Communion's embassy to the Holy See.

Almost unknown to the public, hardly known even to the Episcopal Church of the United States, which helps support it, the Centro Anglicano, or Anglican Center, has been working quietly and diligently for over a decade with representatives of the Vatican's Secretary for Christian Unity to reconcile Rome with its apostolic dissenters who were sundered from it during the reign of Henry VIII over four centuries ago. Rome and Canterbury have gone their separate ways since then, and communions of their obedience or allegiance have planted themselves all over the world. But each kept to doctrines the other was able to recognize continuously if not always to accept.

The work of the Anglican Center is inevitably of paramount importance to American Episcopalians (who are the representatives here of the Anglican Communion, very much smaller of course than Rome, but still comprising 65 million people in many countries). It matters in a broader way, for although Episcopalians are by their definition Catholic and Apostolic, they are Protestant too, and have so tended to range themselves politically and emotionally since their church was founded two hundred years ago. Episcopalians are not at all like Protestant Baptists, for example; indeed in Baptist eyes they appear almost indistinguishable from Rome in the practice of their worship. But Episcopalians are Protestant in respect to some basic positions, chief of which is the abnegation of the Pope's claim to be the Vicar of Christ and ultimate Christian pastor; to them he has always been the Bishop of Rome but no more than that.

Mr. King, a freelance writer based in New York, recently visited Rome.

Protestant or Catholic?

Besides, the Episcopalians were protestant (small p) against the Church of England itself during the Revolution when that church was the organ of a tyrannical government and sought to repress or isolate American Episcopalians as fiercely as the Redcoats sought to do away with the soldiers of the Continental Army. Peace has been copiously made since, but Canterbury's eldest daughter, like the Gallicans of the Roman Church, continues to treat its parent's spiritual primacy with quite definitely loose respect. The recent friction over the ordaining of women as priests by American bishops is a case in point, as well as strident talk about the rights of homosexuals. This has led the English to say that the American Church is "sex-crazy" and to express anxiety over the damage it may do to ecumenism, since the Romans, and the Orthodox too, adamantly oppose a female priesthood.

At any rate, every American Episcopalian who keeps his eyes at all open knows of successful overtures to Roman Catholics at the home parish level (although he is probably uninformed of the existence of a joint commission of a higher though less visible nature—the Anglican-Roman Catholic Consultation in the U.S.A.). That development is in truth dramatic, for it does not take a long memory to evoke the days when the churches regarded each other with an animosity that was darkly colored by political bitterness.

The contact here in Rome is dramatic too, and necessarily more colorful. It is still a source of bemused wonder to watch an Anglican bishop in his cassock and sash of fiery violet silk jig across the Corso to catch a little yellow Roman taxi for his audience at the Vatican as casually as if he were on a sight-seeing visit to the gardens of the Villa Medici. And to read a joint declaration by the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury after one of their Masses together in the Sistine Chapel is to feel oneself a witness to history. When the Pope calls the Archbishop "venerable brother" and welcomes him and his entourage as St. Paul welcomed the Ephesians, "not just as strangers or foreigners but as fellow-citizens with the Saints and the Household of God," it means a lot of baggage has been dropped somewhere.

Coming Together

The history of the rapprochement is succinct. After the failure of the Malines Conversations half a century ago, nothing spectacular happened until John XXIII received the then-Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, in 1960. The next archbishop, Michael Ramsey, made several visits to Rome. The present incumbent of the See of St. Augustine, Donald Coggan, made his own splendid pilgrimage here only recently. One hundred fifty, two hundred years ago, an Archbishop of Canterbury would have been hunted through the streets of Rome. Who does not know it, who does not think of it?

The Anglican Center, which grew out of the first of these meetings, has in

(Continues on page 609)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Incentives Against Inflation

DESPITE the stated enthusiasm of the Carter government for federal tax reform, there is one species of correction in the national taxing system that seldom gets official mention: the idea of indexing federal tax rates to relieve the constant ravages of inflation.

That such a reform is urgently needed is apparent from the recent economic record. Inflation by itself, or progressive taxation by itself, would each be bad enough. But put the two together, and the combined potential for public mayhem is appalling. As cost-of-living adjustments push money wages constantly upward (while actual purchasing power increases little, if any), the taxpayer is bumped into higher income brackets—and that means ever-higher tax rates.

The exact amount of increased revenue accruing to the Feds from this procedure is uncertain, but a number of plausible estimates have been attempted. One academic study tells us, for example, that federal tax receipts were increased by $16 billion between 1973 and 1974, simply through the impact of inflation. Casting our economic horoscope for 1979-83, the Joint Committee on Taxation surmises that added taxes imposed by way of inflationary bumping will total $58.7 billion.

Round it off, as Donald J. Senese has done in a recent study for the Heritage Foundation, and it appears that every 10 percentage points of inflation may be expected to trigger a 14 or 15 per cent increase in taxes. This unlegislated boost of rates and revenues means, among other things, that the much-publicized tax cuts of the past decade haven't really been cuts at all, but simply a method of keeping taxpayers even—if, indeed, they have accomplished that. ". . . Despite several supposed cuts in personal income taxes in the past decade," notes Professor Milton Friedman, "taxes paid were the same percentage of total personal income in 1976 as in 1966." The legislated cuts had been completely offset by the inflationary increases.

"The fact is," says Representative Jack Kemp (R., N.Y.), "that despite large tax cuts in 1971, 1975, 1976, and 1977, the steeply progressive tax rates went unchanged. In the meantime, inflation pushed all workers and investors up into higher and higher brackets and resulted in tax increases, not lower taxes. . . . Taxes have tripled for a typical family, [increasing] from $2,276 in 1967 to an estimated $6,333 in 1978. A median family will pay an estimated 37.3 per cent of the annual family income in taxes this year, compared with 28.9 per cent a decade ago, all as a result of the steeply graduated, or progressive, tax rates. . . ."

THE INFLATIONARY lagniappe that flows to Washington through this quirk in the law explains sufficiently the lack of interest in reforming it. The reforms that get official favor are almost always those that will increase the revenues available to the government, not decrease them. If the Feds needed any further inducement to debauch the currency (which they obviously don't), this revenue bonus feature of the existing law provides it.

All the more reason, of course, that a true reform should be adopted. Fortunately there are numerous congressmen who are acutely conscious of this inequity, and have introduced appropriate legislation. So-called "indexing" bills have been presented in the current session by Kemp, Representative Willis Gradison of Ohio, Representative Lawrence Coughlin of Pennsylvania, Representative Philip Ruppe of Michigan, Representative J. Kenneth Robinson of Virginia, Representative George O'Brien of Illinois, Representative Robert Roe of New Jersey, and more than thirty other members of the House.

To give the numbers of all these bills would be a bit unwieldy; suffice it to say that nearly all of them are called the "cost of living adjustment act" or something of the sort, and that nearly all of them contain identical provisions. The major common feature is a requirement that federal tax brackets be adjusted upward to account for the annual increase in the Consumer Price Index (CPI), so that taxpayers aren't forced to pay a higher rate simply because of nominal increases in their income.

Most of the bills also require that the rise in the CPI be factored into computation of the standard deduction and personal exemptions, that capital gains taxes be computed only on real increases in values, and that depreciation schedules make realistic allowance for augmented replacement costs resulting from inflation.

Ohio's Representative Gradison, who has been pushing especially hard for indexation, illustrates the value of such a reform to a hypothetical wage-earner with a 1977 taxable income of $10,000. "By the year 1986," Gradison says, "assuming a 6 per cent yearly inflation rate, he will have paid an additional $1,166 merely because rising prices have forced him into higher tax brackets." Indexing will deprive the Feds of that amount of money, and keep it in the hands of the average taxpayer.

"In the decade from 1965 to 1975," Gradison adds, "the cumulative effect of inflation and all the legislated tax cuts left taxpayers worse off than if we had not cut taxes but had merely indexed our system. . . . Our Canadian neighbors have indexed their system since January 1974, and their experience shows that indexing slows down the growth in government spending and provides a strong incentive to fight inflation and promote real economic growth."

One possible objection to indexing from a conservative standpoint is that it accepts and institutionalizes inflation as a permanent process. If the notion were applied across the board to everything in our society, this might be a valid objection. But applied specifically to taxes, indexing would have, I think, the opposite effect. Since it would remove one powerful incentive toward inflation, it should in the long run help curtail it. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books Arts & Manners

Historical Consciousness

CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

1945: Year Zero
By John Lukacs
Doubleday, 322 pp., $8.95

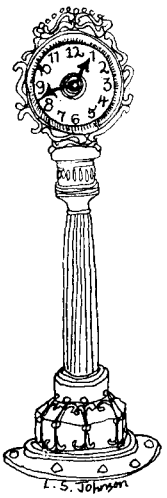
John Lukacs' newest book is the ultimate in counter-revisionist history. Yet I hasten to add that the overtones of fierceness that tremble about this phrase are not audible in *1945: Year Zero*. The Left revisionists, who have been arguing for more than a decade that the war-mongering government of capitalist, imperialist Amerika started the cold war with malice aforethought, fill their books with paramilitary posturings and noisy saber-rattling. But not Lukacs. He proffers his thesis with the graciousness of a Hapsburg prince relinquishing his dance partner at a quiet supper party.

> Here was the basis of the cold war. By the end of 1945 Stalin feared that the Americans, who won the war with relative ease, and who established themselves as the dominant power in Western Europe, were ready to challenge the Russian domination of Eastern Europe. The government of the United States, at the same time, was beginning to fear that after the establishment of victorious Communism in Eastern Europe, the Red Flood would threaten to engulf Western Europe. In reality, neither was the case. It was a gigantic misunderstanding. Not until the autumn of 1956, after the Hungarian Revolution, did the Russians realize that the United States had no real intention of intervening in Eastern Europe, of correcting the division of the continent that had been arranged in 1945. By that time Stalin was dead, Nikita Khrushchev was in power, who was inclined to get on good terms with Americans anyway.

A gigantic misunderstanding!—the Russians' half of which was being exhumed, revivified, and force-fed by the Left, even as Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger jettisoned the Americans' half in the early years of the present decade.

But here is Mr. Lukacs' view of the events of the year 1945, as he interprets them through his dissection of Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, and Truman, "their vision of the future in 1945, and their contribution to the world order (or disorder) that was to follow." In that year, the ultra-revolutionary attempt of Adolf Hitler—"an extreme neo-idealist"—to destroy the bourgeois world was defeated. In the April bunker died Fascism, leaving Communism and Capitalism astride the field, lances tilted . . . But this is too neat a formulation.

Stalin, Lukacs believes, was much less interested in the cause of International Socialism than he was in the power of the Russian nation, in winning back and consolidating the territory that the czars had lost. He instituted his purges of the Thirties not to purify the party ideologically, but to rid it of Marxist ideologues, many of them Jews. Once Stalin clinched his East European territories in the "percentages" conference with Churchill in Moscow in 1944 and in the Yalta confabulations, he strove to hold his ground and to withdraw his vast, lugubrious, and barbarous demesne from intercourse with Western Europe. Winston Churchill understood this clearly; he realized that the Russian nation, not Soviet Communism, was the real danger. Communism, crude and backward, was too ludicrous to endure over the long run; what chiefly concerned him was the need to restrict, to define, and to agree upon the limits of Stalin's conquests before the end of the war.



What prevented the U.S. from appreciating Churchill's insight was the American delusion that the Soviet Union was willing to develop beyond the limitations of its monstrous, misshapen adolescence: to learn, to trade, to mingle, to mellow—in short, to civilize itself. Roosevelt and his circle of pointy-headed Panglosses thought the United States a progressive flying wedge whose task was to restrain the atavistic imperialism of the English and to polish the diamond-in-the-rough that was the USSR. Their ideas had been handed down to them like silver spoons from Franklin, Jefferson, Gladstone, Woodrow Wilson—they were more outdated in many ways, Lukacs suggests, than those of Churchill—and carefully written out and bound in calf-skin by Eleanor Roosevelt. What is more, the "broad and flat" philosophy of the Groton–Harvard–New York–Washington axis was popularized and disseminated by the polite public opinion of the time. (Lukacs' chapter "A Sketch of the National Mind" causes one to wonder whether Alger Hiss, had he been exposed as a former CP member in 1945 instead of in 1948, might not have been gratefully appointed our Minister Plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union.)

Maureen Bodo *has worked at* NR *as an editorial assistant. . . .* **Victor Gold**'*s latest book is* PR as in President. . . . **S. K. Oberbeck**, *a former associate editor at* Newsweek, *is an occasional contributor to* NATIONAL REVIEW.

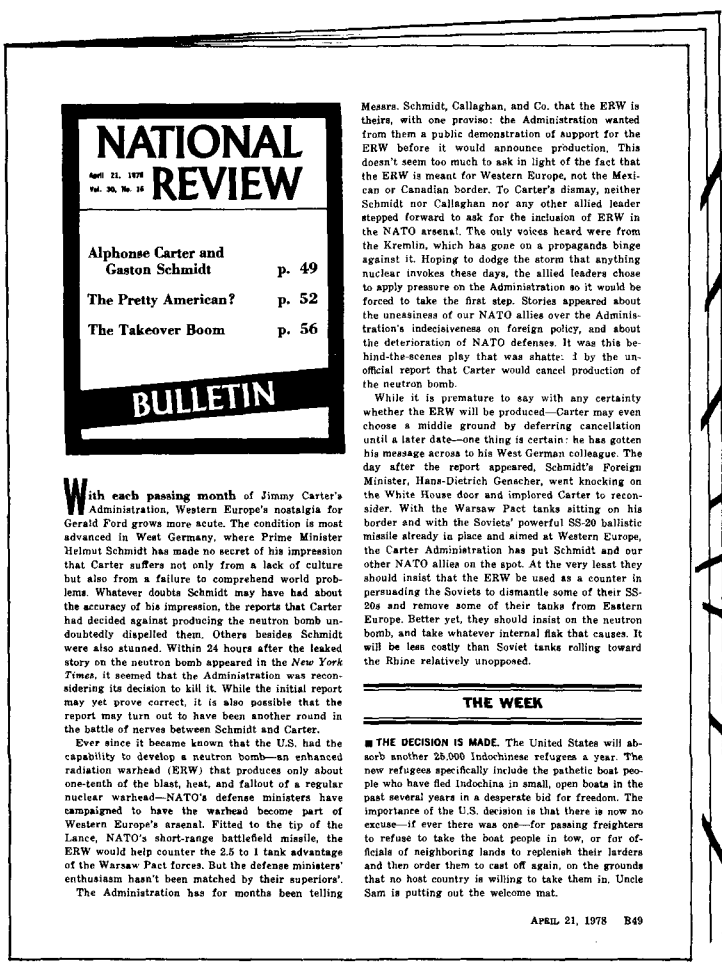
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here are 8 good reasons why you should subscribe to the *National Review* BULLETIN—do it right now and you can get the next 12 issues for just $5.95

(Average reading time for this ad: 2 mins., 9 secs.)

■ If you like to keep up with (and even ahead of) the significant news, then you should *definitely* be reading the *National Review* BULLETIN: it packs a wealth of behind-the-scenes information into its fast-reading eight pages. Its *unduplicated* reporting (8 separate features in all) brings you the kind of *inside* news you simply can't get elsewhere.

■ And, if you enjoy *National Review* Magazine, you'll love the BULLETIN! It's the sparkling newsletter that keeps you posted (NR style) on alternate weeks when the magazine is not published. Don't put it off—fill out the handy card *now,* and mail it today and you'll get the next 12 important issues of the BULLETIN for only $5.95.



NATIONAL REVIEW

April 21, 1978 Vol. 30, No. 16

Alphonse Carter and Gaston Schmidt p. 49

The Pretty American? p. 52

The Takeover Boom p. 56

BULLETIN

With each passing month of Jimmy Carter's Administration, Western Europe's nostalgia for Gerald Ford grows more acute. The condition is most advanced in West Germany, where Prime Minister Helmut Schmidt has made no secret of his impression that Carter suffers not only from a lack of culture but also from a failure to comprehend world problems. Whatever doubts Schmidt may have had about the accuracy of his impression, the reports that Carter had decided against producing the neutron bomb undoubtedly dispelled them. Others besides Schmidt were also stunned. Within 24 hours after the leaked story on the neutron bomb appeared in the *New York Times,* it seemed that the Administration was reconsidering its decision to kill it. While the initial report may yet prove correct, it is also possible that the report may turn out to have been another round in the battle of nerves between Schmidt and Carter.

Ever since it became known that the U.S. had the capability to develop a neutron bomb—an enhanced radiation warhead (ERW) that produces only about one-tenth of the blast, heat, and fallout of a regular nuclear warhead—NATO's defense ministers have campaigned to have the warhead become part of Western Europe's arsenal. Fitted to the tip of the Lance, NATO's short-range battlefield missile, the ERW would help counter the 2.5 to 1 tank advantage of the Warsaw Pact forces. But the defense ministers' enthusiasm hasn't been matched by their superiors'.

The Administration has for months been telling Messrs. Schmidt, Callaghan, and Co. that the ERW is theirs, with one proviso: the Administration wanted from them a public demonstration of support for the ERW before it would announce production. This doesn't seem too much to ask in light of the fact that the ERW is meant for Western Europe, not the Mexican or Canadian border. To Carter's dismay, neither Schmidt nor Callaghan nor any other allied leader stepped forward to ask for the inclusion of ERW in the NATO arsenal. The only voices heard were from the Kremlin, which has gone on a propaganda binge against it. Hoping to dodge the storm that anything nuclear invokes these days, the allied leaders chose to apply pressure on the Administration so it would be forced to take the first step. Stories appeared about the uneasiness of our NATO allies over the Administration's indecisiveness on foreign policy, and about the deterioration of NATO defenses. It was this behind-the-scenes play that was shatte: l by the unofficial report that Carter would cancel production of the neutron bomb.

While it is premature to say with any certainty whether the ERW will be produced—Carter may even choose a middle ground by deferring cancellation until a later date—one thing is certain: he has gotten his message across to his West German colleague. The day after the report appeared, Schmidt's Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, went knocking on the White House door and implored Carter to reconsider. With the Warsaw Pact tanks sitting on his border and with the Soviets' powerful SS-20 ballistic missile already in place and aimed at Western Europe, the Carter Administration has put Schmidt and our other NATO allies on the spot. At the very least they should insist that the ERW be used as a counter in persuading the Soviets to dismantle some of their SS-20s and remove some of their tanks from Eastern Europe. Better yet, they should insist on the neutron bomb, and take whatever internal flak that causes. It will be less costly than Soviet tanks rolling toward the Rhine relatively unopposed.

THE WEEK

■ **THE DECISION IS MADE.** The United States will absorb another 25,000 Indochinese refugees a year. The new refugees specifically include the pathetic boat people who have fled Indochina in small, open boats in the past several years in a desperate bid for freedom. The importance of the U.S. decision is that there is now no excuse—if ever there was one—for passing freighters to refuse to take the boat people in tow, or for officials of neighboring lands to replenish their larders and then order them to cast off again, on the grounds that no host country is willing to take them in. Uncle Sam is putting out the welcome mat.

APRIL 21, 1978 B49

1. THE WEEK:
A compact listing of the week's most significant news items—many "overlooked" in the nation's press;

2. ON THE LEFT:
A regular report on what the Left—new *and* old—is up to, including private reports from authoritative sources here and abroad;

3. CAPITAL BULLETIN:
A provocative report by "Winston," pseudonym for a top Washington correspondent who knows his way around the inner circles of government—that's why his news beats often appear as headline stories *weeks* after you've read them in the BULLETIN;

4. WHAT'S AHEAD:
A special feature that tells you what to look for in—and behind—current trends;

5. PEOPLE:
The column many BULLETIN readers turn to first. It's not afraid to name names or focus on famous people, often reports items that you won't find in the press or newsmagazines;

6. AT HOME:
This regular feature covers a major national story each issue—in-depth analysis of such topics as social security, national educational problems (can the communities regain control of their own schools?), tax policies and many other questions that affect you and your family.

7. ABROAD:
This unique survey of the foreign scene is compiled from the most important overseas publications plus confidential reports from on-the-spot observers in key trouble spots the world over. You'll especially enjoy its panoramic view, and the concentration on important happenings that go unreported here.

8. BUSINESS:
Not a stock-market "dopesheet" but a comprehensive and fascinating column of significant business and financial news. It is designed to interest the layman as well as the expert and has become widely known for its perceptive analysis of business trends both here and abroad. Money, prices, wages, investments, inflation, automation—all the components of our remarkable society—suddenly have a special meaning for you when seen through the eyes of Editor Donald Waterford.

IMPORTANT

The BULLETIN is available by subscription only; however, if you pick up your *National Review* from a newsstand, or are reading a friend's copy you are eligible to use the postage paid card facing this page. Just fill it in and return it to *National Review.* And if someone beat you to the card simply write direct to Mr. James P. McFadden, c/o *National Review,* 150 East 35th Street, New York, N. Y. 10016. He'll see to it that your subscription is entered at this bargain rate and receives prompt attention.

**The BULLETIN is the 8-page fortnightly newsletter which appears on alternate weeks, when the Magazine is not published. Regular rate: $15.00 per year, available by subscription only.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thus Roosevelt was disinclined to make life uncomfortable for Stalin. As his spiritual ancestor Woodrow Wilson had been willing to compromise with Lloyd George and Clemenceau in order to get his League of Nations, so Roosevelt was willing to compromise with Stalin in order to get his United Nations. What Churchill, who put his faith for the future of the postwar world in what he hoped would be the solidarity of the Anglo-Saxon countries, did not comprehend was that, to Roosevelt, converting Stalin to Wilsonism and living happily ever after was a vision far more lovely—and more attainable—than Anglo-Saxon solidarity. After Roosevelt died, Truman was more inclined to cut notches in Stalin's ears—e.g., when the fate of Poland was being decided—but Roosevelt's specialists jumped up respectfully and dragged him back into the seminar room for a refresher course, at the same time flattering his instincts as "a Missouri horse-trader." It can't have been long, as Lukacs says, before Stalin realized that "in America horse-traders were one thing, politicians were another."

IT SEEMS TO BE almost a law of letters that to state anything freshly is to overstate it. No book is ever the last word; no book can offer an original theory and at the same time hold between its covers the sum total of all that is known about the subject. So with *1945*. Every act of creativity is a daring leap, and Lukacs makes plenty of these. He also states a lot of half-truths. His *idée fixe*, which informs much of his work, including *Historical Consciousness* and *The Last European War*, is that men adapt their ideas to fit their circumstances, that they are by nature not strong-minded ideologues but intellectual collaborationists. It seems to me that he is right to a great degree. But because ideology is not everything, it does not follow that it is nothing.

Whatever Stalin's fundamental inspiration, there is no disputing the fact that since 1917 "International Communism" has meant something other than Russian nationalism to a great many people; and whenever and wherever it did, Moscow took full advantage of it. Stalin did not, after 1945, retreat into the steppes of Russia: he involved himself vigorously in "International Communism" in such countries as Greece, Czechoslovakia (which had never been held by the czars), and Korea. Besides, it is an oversimplification to make a clean distinction between nationalism—or let us say "socialism in one country"—and international socialism. Even among simonpure ideologists there is, has always been, a fatal weakness for most-favored-nationism, the most favored nation being usually one's own. Surely this is what Eurocommunism is all about.

But whatever the incompleteness of Lukacs' account of the international intrigues of Year Zero, his reading of the world that followed from them is viscerally compelling. 1945 was the end of the European state system; it was the end of the European Age; it was the end of "the so-called Modern Age." Yet the two forces that supposedly superseded that system, Communism and Capitalism, have turned out—contrary to popular expectation *and* current popular belief—not to be the genies that ride the winds of the postwar era. Instead, the guiding impulse is, as it was in the Modern Age, nationalism—"with ever newer variants." More, the dominant cultural forces are today what they were in 1939: Darwinism, Marxism, Freudianism. Indeed, the thirty-odd years since 1945 have been a period of stagnation unparalleled since the Middle Ages. Not only is the balance of power pretty much what it was in 1945, but our modes of thinking about the world continue to be tied to the same materialist formulae.

I have hinted that Lukacs is a writer of great intellectual serenity, and what I mean is this: he is scarcely an optimist, God knows, but he is no pessimist either. He is comfortable surveying the contemporary world because he perceives that it functions pretty much as it did in the distant past with which he, as an historian, is conversant. The prevalent form of claptrap ratiocination has not infected him. He not only believes that human history is the history of the human mind, he believes that that mind cannot—*will not*, even in spite of itself—be subjugated by dialectical systems of thought that try to explain history as something else. Dostoyevsky said in *The Idiot* that when a Russian calls himself an atheist he is not really talking about the existence of God. Similarly, Lukacs is saying that not even a Marxist-Leninist dictator surrenders his life and the welfare of his nation into the hands of dialectical materialism. Men, as historical actors, prudently excuse themselves from the fictions of the system-makers, and Lukacs insists upon giving them credit for it. The history of dialecticians is not the history of human beings—nor is it the history written by humanists. In the lingering afterglow of the European Age, history according to the humanists is still the last word in revisionism, the ultimate heresy. □

The Unmaking of a President: Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam
By Herbert Y. Schandler
Princeton, 419 pp., $16.50

STRICTLY FOR GRUNTS

S. K. OBERBECK

The moral of this lengthy examination of the downfall of LBJ's Vietnam policy, using the January 1968 Tet Offensive as primary focus, seems to be: Don't pour your concrete too early. And don't stand in it while it sets.

Its almost day-by-day narration of the debacle as it unfolded in Southeast Asia and Washington is exhaustively documented. Page after page, human-wave attacks of footnotes assault the reader. Herbert Y. Schandler, who "served in the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense" and now specializes in national defense at the Li-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

■ More May Titles: Simas Kudirka, the Lithuanian sailor who attempted to defect from a Soviet ship and was handed back by the U.S. Coast Guard, has written a book about his experiences, called *For Those Still at Sea* (Dial, $7.95). Kudirka, who spent some time in Siberia, was later permitted to emigrate to America. . . . Richard Nixon's *Presidential Memoirs* (Grosset, $20) will shortly be available. . . . Meanwhile, Tom Dunne, an editor at St. Martin's Press, has written a novel, *The Scourge* (Coward, McCann, $8.95), about a cancer epidemic that reaches the White House. The ultimate in disaster fiction. . . . Frank Carrington, a practicing attorney, is the author of *Neither Cruel nor Unusual: The Case for Capital Punishment* (Arlington, $8.95). . . . *Menahem Begin: The Legend and the Man* (Delacorte, $10) is by Eitan Haber, an Israeli journalist and co-author of *Entebbe Rescue*. . . . Doris Lessing has a new volume of short stories out, entitled simply *Stories* (Knopf, $15). . . . Mortimer Adler bounced the manuscript of *Aristotle for Everybody: Or Difficult Thoughts Made Easy* (Macmillan, $8.95) off his 12-year-old son. . . . *The Execution of Mayor Yin and Other Stories from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (Indiana University Press, $8.95) is a collection of stories by Chen Jo-hsi about the cultural wasteland that is Red China. The author was born in Taiwan and now lives in Canada, but spent a number of years living on the Chinese Mainland. There is an Introduction by Simon Leys. . . . In *Here to Stay: American Families in the Twentieth Century* (Basic, $3.95, paperback), Mary Jo Bane takes issue with the notion that the "nuclear family" is in decline. . . . William A. Nolen, an MD, has written a book called *The Baby in the Bottle: A Review of the Edelin Case* (Coward, McCann, $9.95).

■ Modern Times Department: Alayne Yates argues in *Sex without Shame: Encouraging the Child's Healthy Sexual Development* (Morrow, $7.95) that children should be taught to take pride in their organs of sex. Tiny flashers? . . . Maxine A. Atwater's *Rollin' 'Round: A Guide for Wheelchair Travelers* (Dodd, Mead, $8.95) lists accessible attractions in ten U.S. cities.

brary of Congress, has read *everything* and interviewed a raft of those present at the stillbirth. But has it helped?

Several summations from his concluding chapter:

> The United States did not stumble into Vietnam. Each step was a deliberate choice by a careful President who weighed the alternatives as he saw them, limited each response insofar as possible, and took into account the opinion of the public. But the effort was piecemeal and misdirected. . . .
>
> The American failure was caused by the lack of realization that military power alone could not solve what was basically a political problem. . . .
>
> There is another aspect of the decision-making process that has not been studied separately and in detail. That aspect is the unique constraints on and requirements of presidential decision-making during an election year.

To have slogged through some 345 pages of this, just to arrive at more of the same, is not my idea of authorial PR. One longs—I longed—for the sudden jab of some hidden punjee-stick insight that would make this turgid journey back ten years—back beyond the pressures of Hanoi and Haiphong Harbor, Watergate, the fall of Saigon, and "re-education," or the Communist version of "permanent resettlement"—either palatable or productive. If only Schandler had put down his historical magnifying glass and fiddled with a microscope. It's like reading a hummock-by-hummock analysis of Borodino by Erving Goffman.

Schandler's choice of Tet as the skeleton on which to hang an analysis of political and military "decision-making" is not, of course, without logic. By implication, he understands the Allied military victory and psycho-political civilian defeat. By implication, he recognizes the jarring impact of media incidents to be the quintessential irony of our Vietnam involvement—the news photo of General Loan executing a VC terrorist in public, the U.S. major quoted as saying: "It had become necessary to destroy the town to save it."

Yet, that's all he'll admit. Such events *had* impact; they contributed to the vacillation and nail-biting that fed the quagmire psychosis. But there was more to it than that. This reads like history-cum-sociology, not like geo-political analysis.

Similarly, either Schandler is operating with the shadowy subtlety of a Venetian stiletto artist, or else he simply misses the point of his points. "Since Secretary McNamara, or higher civilian authority, had failed to provide them with any national objectives, mission, or strategic concepts . . . the military leaders virtually were forced to adopt their own." *Since*? "Thus, the Secretary of Defense finally seemed to have adopted an overall strategic concept for the conduct of the war." *Finally seemed*?

When describing Defense Secretary Clark Clifford's Saul-to-Paul conversion and his Humpty Dumpty act in frequently and publicly misinterpreting LBJ's March 31 "San Antonio formula" speech on troop increases and a bombing halt, Schandler quotes Clifford: "This was a conscious effort on my part. It was based on what I believed the President's attitude should be and what I thought our policy should be." Astonishingly, Schandler never delves into motives, collusive or otherwise, that might explain why a total political animal such as LBJ would allow Clifford license to interpret a public-policy speech as being far more conciliatory to the Communists than he intended.

My first insight into Schandler's possible feelings and approach was gleaned when I read the dedication of this book, to "the brave young Americans who gave their lives for their country's objectives in Vietnam." If he meant "non-objectives," I wish he had come out and said so. □

SWELL LETTERS

Chance Meetings: A Memoir
By William Saroyan
Norton, 135 pp., $8.95

GNOMIC NAIVE

D. KEITH MANO

So much for the omniscient observer. And the first-person narration. What you've got here is the Ethnic Naïve. An Ethnic Naïve book will be less than two hundred pages long, with deep margins (for deep marginalia) and fat, blank chapter breaks. Also simple, sentence-length paragraphs that reveal simple-but-profound truth because, well, they're simple.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Every man is correct in asking God why he is stuck with himself, and his rotten luck.

If he wasn't permitted to choose his parents, he should certainly have been permitted to choose the people he must have to deal with during his life, but this is also denied him.

He can neither choose his parents, nor choose not to be drafted into the Army, even, for instance.

Gnomic, huh? Yes, if the word gnomic derives from gnome. William Saroyan is our Great Wise Old Armenian (Black, Pole, Jew) Who Deigns to Favor You with Reminiscences of a Rich Long Ethnic Life. The reader had better show respect: in deference to age and Armenia. Being Saroyan, Saroyan can supply his own book-jacket propaganda. "*Chance Meetings* is as large as anybody who happens to read it." Some gall bladder there. An *ad hominem* attack in advance on his critics: those who don't appreciate *Chance Meetings* are not honest, authentic, heart-big enough. You may have caught on by now: *Chance Meetings* irked the lymph juice out of me.

"What is a story?" Saroyan asks. Right away I'm ticked off. That designation, "story," is arch and self-indulgent: affected. It implies a correspondence, doncha know, between Saroyan and the Primitive Bard, the Ancient Carrier-On of National Traditions. "Story" has crept into English from Latin *historia*: history: secret, verifiable truths are somehow implied by it. On the other hand, fiction derives from *fingere*: to mold, devise: fiction is fake, loaded with monosodium glutamate. William Saroyan, perish forbid, would never write fiction.

And what does "story" mean? "It's a writer with his mind made up to tell a story. To remember something, or to invent something. (It comes to the same thing.)" Like hell it does. But accurate, artless remembering—or the presumption of such—has been indispensable to Saroyan's renown: to any Ethnic Naïve's renown. In comparison, consciously created art is like a plastic shoe: unnatural, unwholesome. Saroyan doesn't make, he finds. To criticize him is to criticize his past, even his race. This puts the reviewer right where Saroyan (and Borges, another "story"-teller) would want him: in a very uncomfortable spot.

The memoir genre, then, is automatic for Saroyan: an overt statement of what, in actuality, he has been doing —or pretending to do—since nineteen thirty-something. This, his eighth memoir, never achieves even "story" form: at best it's anecdotal; at worst it's just muttering. The kind of narrative you'd shake from a hearth-drowsy, cantankerous old man:

Well, why not write about Bennett Cerf?

Well, I don't want to.

All right, write about somebody who isn't famous, or somebody who didn't make eight million dollars.

It's as if Saroyan were doing us a big favor. His book has the disjoint, uncoordinated wobble of new-born crane flies. But see—you can't trust memory further than you can throw, ah, up. "For instance, I have never been able to understand the basis of memory's selectivity, if in fact memory may be said to have such a basis, if it is not all of it pretty much whimsical and possibly even mischievous." Confession time. If memory is so whimsical —not even competent to order consecutive episodes—then Saroyan, despite his assurance, may have been creating fiction all this long while. What a surprise for him. Like Molière's M. Jourdain and his prose.

Last night I skimmed a collection of mid-life Saroyan stories—the acknowledgment page served as R I P enough for at least 16 defunct literary periodicals: *Aperitif*, *Vo-Mag*, *Lovat Dickson's Magazine*, *New Masses*. Saroyan, of course, has been richly overrated: his time ran out with *Vo-Mag*'s, with WPA murals and their peculiar bluff intenseness. He was always ethnic naïve, repetitive, sentimental, pompous. And, in that, *Chance Meetings* is involuntary self-burlesque. Silliness will pop buoyant through his sententious, Book-of-Proverbs style.

. . . any man with a large nose has got to live accordingly, and we all know the touching story of Cyrano, as written by Edmond Rostand, who is said to have been an Armenian.

Who said so?

Several Armenians did, with pride, too, adding, "Who else but an Armenian would write a play about a man with a big nose?" . . .

. . . I am proud to report that like Edmond Rostand himself I am an Armenian. Again and again it is good to get such things clear at the outset. Therefore the reader is invited to study his nose and to name his nationality.

Sounds like Saroyan has had it with Saroyan, Professional Ethnic Naïve. Could be, though, that second-generation sins have been visited on the first. It must change your priority system, fathering a son who is paid and paid well for one-word poems. At any rate Saroyan has written the Armenian *Snow White*: a Donald Barthelme performance. Remembering breaks down. Consciously or unconsciously the Ethnic Naïve has become the Ethnic Absurd. Which is, I guess, some small improvement. □

Kalki
By Gore Vidal
Random House, 225 pp., $10

HIS OWN WORST ENEMY

MAUREEN BODO

Gore Vidal is rapidly becoming his own worst enemy, no small feat for a veteran of so many literary feuds and friendships that have gone sour. For years, Vidal has been railing against such abominations as the Non-Fiction Novel, the New Novel, and the University Novel. These literary forms, Vidal contends, may have some worth, but not as fiction. His own work, with one or two exceptions, has generally been in the traditional form exemplified by his favorite American novelist,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Henry James. Since the publication of *Burr*, Vidal has enjoyed a reputation as one of the best novelists in the United States.

Lately, however, Vidal has begun to work against himself and his own best ideas by letting his novels become essays with stories wrapped around them. In the process, he is turning into the leading proponent of what might be called the Polemic Novel. In *Myra Breckinridge*, Vidal wrote, "The novel is dead"; he later explained that he really meant the audience for the novel is dead. Since then, he has evidently started to worry about the death of audiences for the essay and the talk-show as well.

Having once admitted that he had "nothing to say, only to add," Vidal seems to say in his latest novel, *Kalki*, that he now has nothing to add, only to repeat. The story is told by Theodora "Teddy" Ottinger, the world's foremost aviatrix and feminist author of *Beyond Motherhood*. She is sent to India to interview Jim Kelly, a Vietnam veteran and former expert on biochemical warfare. Kelly claims to be the Hindu god Kalki, whose coming means the destruction of the universe.

Kalki launches a huge publicity campaign, financed by drug operations in America and Southeast Asia. The date of the end of the world is scheduled to be announced at Madison Square Garden, where the show includes the murder of a Kalki look-alike, witnessed on television by millions. It was, Teddy reports, "the most dramatic event in the history of that medium." Kalki's "resurrection" gets an even better rating, and features the dance of eternity. When the dance is over, everyone in the world is dead except Kalki, Teddy, and three other "Perfect Masters." Teddy is told that it was technically she, not Kalki, who brought about the death of the human race: she had flown a worldwide publicity tour, dropping from her plane millions of paper lotuses saturated with lethal bacteria.

And so the world ends, with the last members of the species living out their lives in the White House, where Teddy works on her record of the final events. The plot is clever, the story is well told, but it is all too easy. *Kalki* lacks the vision and conviction of Vidal's genuinely apocalyptic novel, *Messiah*, written 24 years ago. By comparison, the new novel seems a pale reminder of Vidal's prodigious but often wasted literary gifts.

There are echoes of voices from other works. Teddy Ottinger comes across like Myra Breckinridge in a leather flying jacket; when she offers her opinions on population control and bisexuality, she sounds like Gore Vidal doing his tiresomely familiar bit on the Johnny Carson show. Vidal treats us once again to the attack on the French New Novel, first mounted in *The New York Review of Books* ten years ago. This genre was satirized to death in *Myra Breckinridge*; now the corpse has inexplicably been exhumed for another trashing in *Kalki*. The parody has no purpose here, if parody it is. Vidal is becoming trapped in his own satire and has unconsciously adopted the style he dislikes. The tone here is too breezy, too flippant, and frequently awkward, a jarring shift from the cool, masterful prose praised by admirers of Vidal's essays.

Kalki seems to be one long process of self-cannibalization. Even minor characters are reminiscent of previous creations. Dr. Ashok, the Indian perfect master of malapropisms, recalls the Egyptian hotel manager in Vidal's early novel *The Judgment of Paris*, who provided low comic relief by peppering his every phrase with outdated American slang from old gangster movies.

EVEN WORSE, Vidal tries unsuccessfully to deal with ideas clearly suggested to him by other writers. Teddy Ottinger constantly remarks on the effects of entropy, laments that "everything is running down," and throws in references to the Second Law of Thermodynamics for good measure. This has already been done, as Vidal points out in his essay "American Plastic," by Thomas Pynchon in *V.* and *Gravity's Rainbow*. But where Pynchon makes intelligent use of scientific principles, Vidal makes pointless note of them and passes on.

For all of this, *Kalki* is not a bad novel. It is easy to read and frequently amusing; but it is also disappointing. One can only hope that in his next novel Mr. Vidal will stop stealing from himself and others and put his considerable talents and intelligence to better use. □

FILM

CREEPING SHABBINESS

JOHN SIMON

The most interesting thing about *Fingers* —correction, the only interesting thing —is Pauline Kael's review of it. So let's save that for the end.

Fingers is a cross between a small boy's dream of glory and a bigger boy's masturbation fantasy. James Toback, the writer-director, is the author of the dreadful screenplay for Karel Reisz's *The Gambler*; of a book called *Jim*, about James Brown, the football player turned movie actor, with whom Toback lived and orgied while he wrote this piece of mixed hero-worship and self-love in which the two Jims become fused like the nurse and the actress in *Persona*; and of a number of magazine articles, including a tribute to that supreme macho megalomaniac, Norman Mailer.

For anyone who knows Toback even slightly, *Fingers* is full of autobiography—or, rather, psychobiography; and what a congeries of bravado, self-pity, arrogance, and sheer mean-spiritedness it is! All of which matters less, though, than the fact that it is a totally amateurish job of writing and film-making; only Toback's fast-talking slickness and the gullibility of the producer, George Barrie, can explain how the thing ever got made.

It is the story of Jimmy Angelelli, the son of a Mafia loan shark and a now-institutionalized Jewish concert pianist; he is a young man torn by contrary heritages. Note the name: Jimmy, as in Toback; Angelelli, as in "angel" and "(h)ell." There is already enough autobiographico-metaphysical symbol-mongering in this to make one queasy.

We encounter Jimmy seated one day at his piano (though the way he carries on, he might as well be seated at his organ, even if not in Sir Arthur Sullivan's sense), while the camera takes an unconscionable time to move in on him. Harvey Keitel, who plays Jimmy, is going through the contortions of the damned, along with agonized croonings that would be the envy of Glenn Gould and the nausea of anybody else.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

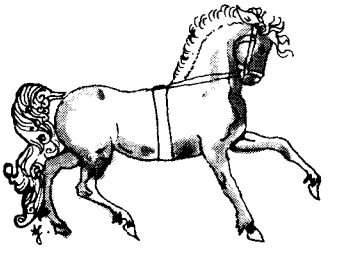
But—and here is part of the way he's split—in the street and even in restaurants, he carries with him a blaring tape deck, usually of The Jamies (another variation on Toback's name) giving out with "Summertime, Summertime," a noxious piece of junk Jimmy adores as much as Bach.

The film tells us nothing about how Jimmy comes by his fancy pad in New York's most expensive section, not to mention the concert grand or the professional recording-studio equipment. We follow him now on a wenching expedition, then humoring his aging father as, dutiful son of a Mafioso, he roughs up a debtor by way of collecting papa's dough. In this same tough-guy capacity, he enters another debtor's swanky club, follows that big Mafioso's girlfriend into the ladies' room, and there, half by obscenity-studded compliments, half by force, possesses the girl perpendicularly against the bathroom wall. The *dernier cri* in orgasms he promises her looks a bit wham-bam-thank-you-ma'ammish to this viewer; but, then, I hear that the MPAA people snipped a lot of sex and violence out of the film, for which—this once—we have reason to be thankful.

On the finer, maternal side of things, we find Jimmy practicing and practicing the Bach Toccata in E-minor, going to see his mother at the sanatorium, with disastrous results, and auditioning for a concert manager unsuccessfully—but only, I daresay, because of the insecurity his warring parents bequeathed to him. Under slightly more auspicious family circumstances no one could have tickled those ivories like Jimmy except perhaps the trunk of a mother when they were still tusks on her beloved offspring's face.

Meanwhile Jimmy has also been pursuing Carol (Tisa Farrow), an eccentric sculptress with a SoHo loft, whom he also bulldozes into bed and a leporine orgasm, and whom he follows into a shady bar whose black owner is named, with yet another splendid burst of schoolboy symbolism, Dreems. He is played, of course, by Toback's wish-fulfillment alter ego, Jim Brown. As several reviewers have remarked, Brown is the true love-object here, scrutinized and swooned over by the camera as no woman in the film is.

Dreems takes Carol and Jimmy for some sex *à quatre*, of the kind Toback describes in his book about Brown. They go to the posh pad of lovely Christa (Carole Francis) in the Hotel Plaza. Dreems encourages the two girls, who have been bussing, nuzzling, and licking him, to kiss each other, while Jimmy looks on in a mixture of agony and ecstasy. When they prove reluctant, a ghastly incident occurs. Here is Toback himself recounting it in a short but unreadable article inappropriately entitled "Notes on Acting" in *Film Comment* (January-February 1978): "Shortly after I had lived in his house in L.A. and written a book about our adventures together, [Brown] was arrested (though the charges were later dropped) for whacking together the heads of two girls. I knew as soon as I heard about the incident not only that I could 'transform' it but that it had *happened* so that I could transform it."



I don't know whether Brown's whacking or Toback's whacking-off over it is more deplorable—or, for that matter, the fact that Brown, a celebrity, got off scot free; what is most pitiful, though, is Toback's arrogance, which views this act as occurring for his art to transform it. Toback, alas, could not transform an ice cube into water, much less a coarse event into art. Needless to say, as he boasts in the article, Toback had Brown perform another real head-whacking for the camera, which only goes to show how desperate some actresses are for employment, and at best transforms a performer into a patsy.

But why go on? Toback often doesn't even manage to frame a shot properly, has no feeling for rhythm, cannot make a scene look lifelike (consider, for instance, the one where a little girl in a park is playing in the margin of the main action, and her playing is made to look arbitrarily erotic and stilted), gets poor, washed-out cinematography from Michael Chapman (an inferior cameraman, but never before this bad), and has no skill for making anything credible. Thus, for the final showdown, Jimmy saunters into the big Mafioso's club as easily as into a ladies' room, finds the gangster alone, promptly gets him onto a deserted back stairway, reduces him first to defenselessness by squeezing his testicles, then to a jelly by repeatedly shooting him in the eyes, so that a mixture of blood and eye squirts onto our hero's face. He then goes home, strips naked, and stares forlornly out of the window, his bite no better than his Bach.

Now, as promised, Pauline Kael's review. It is a masterpiece of equivocation that nevertheless manages to bring in, however ambiguously, Orson Welles, Sir Carol Reed, Dostoyevsky, Conrad, Kafka, Mailer, and Tennessee Williams to gild Toback by association. The review has to be read *in toto* to reveal America's most loved and feared film critic tergiversating in the most pathetic and ludicrous way, e.g., "Yet the film never seems ridiculous, because [Toback has] got true movie-making fever." What that means in plain English is that if you are this desperate to make a movie, you deserve high marks even if you lack the requisite talents. It is as if a doctor said: "The patient died, true enough, but look at the beautiful parabola of his fever chart."

Be it noted that for a couple of years now James Toback has been one of Miss Kael's steadier escorts around town. Like an unfunny Falstaff, Toback is not only shabby in himself, but the cause that shabbiness is in others. □

TELEVISION

WHAT REFUGEE PROBLEM?

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

On May 11 a number of public-television stations carried a documentary by New York's Downtown Community Television Center titled "Vietnam: Picking Up the Pieces." Other stations may also be running it in the near future, and, who knows, it may soon be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

distributed to schools. And no doubt church groups too.

Three members of the DCTC went to Vietnam to make this film, and they are faced with the problem of—as John O'Connor of the *New York Times* puts it—"avoiding an image of political innocence being used by Hanoi propagandists." I would be the last to accuse them of innocence. O'Connor quotes their press release: "In Vietnam, the trio was allowed to videotape whatever they wished except for military installations. At times they were accompanied by officials or guides; other times they were completely on their own. Though much of the beginning of their Vietnam trip was programmed for them, they soon were able to persuade their host to let them prepare their own itinerary."

AFTER SEEING the completed film, I translate this as follows: "Though at first their host offered to give them a Potemkin tour, they soon persuaded him that they were perfectly capable of taking their own Potemkin tour." Their Vietnam is sheer poetry; and not clumsy doggerel either, but a view of the country that gives the Communist myth a nostalgic appeal—like the old South's myth of darkies happily singing in the cotton fields. And no doubt most slaves have their moments of happy contentment, as other sufferers do; even moments of freedom, during which their masters kindly or indifferently allow them a certain latitude of choice. There is no real point in arguing with a film; let it suffice that there was no hint in the course of an hour that it is now illegal for a Vietnamese to leave Vietnam, and that those who try are shot. Perhaps the "military installations" they were forbidden to film included the entire circumference of Vietnam; in any case, you get the impression that the Vietnamese no more want to cross that border than the three young documentarians wanted to discuss it.

The DCTC tends to be muckraking at home; they are authors of another effort called "Health Care: Your Money or Your Life." But when they enter into Communist countries they see nothing but arcadian welfare states, as witness their "Cuba: The People." They are not wholly uncritical: they do make it clear that these countries have their little problems—sugar and cigar rationing in Cuba, for instance. No refugee problems, though. Who would defect from paradise, save a few bourgeois Lucifers?

But words like "bourgeois" don't occur. No triumphal Communist cant is to be heard from the mouth of narrator Jon Alpert, a soft-spoken young fellow who knows how to produce engagingly laid-back propaganda. He even makes a few wry mentions of the way the "re-education camps" have "force-fed Vietnamese history and socialist ideology" to army officers of the losing side. Sounds very detached from the claims of the Vietnamese rulers themselves, no? Even a little critical of their rhetorical crudity? Alpert would have been more subtle.

A damn sight more subtle. His basic technique is a pointillist attention to details that avoids raising general or difficult questions, while systematically insinuating its message through imagery. The first shots are of American bombs exploding horrifically on the beautiful Vietnamese landscape, interspersed with footage of Vietnamese civilians handing a wailing tot to safety. Americans throughout are associated with bombs, prostitution, venereal disease, heroin, orphans, and gadgets like tape recorders (black market stuff). The Vietnamese, except as they are touched by the American blights, are shown as gentle, healthy, delicate, patiently engaged in constructive collective tasks of weaving, education, medicine, and farming

little plots; the "new" regime, as simply incorporating and fostering these native virtues. Individual Vietnamese are interviewed: their charm, often considerable, seems to "belong" to the government, which, far from repressive, appears only as a benignly guiding presence, solicitous for the general weal, organizing village committees. It even allows a certain amount of private enterprise, though we see that the entrepreneurs are greedy predators. One factory owner boastfully shows off his large house; we are told that he pays his employees less than the $20 a month that government workers receive. The matter-of-fact tone doesn't invite us to wonder how the private sector can survive the stiff competition from the government (whose working conditions, we are given to understand, are also better), or why so very humane a regime doesn't pass minimum wage laws.

IT IS DISTRESSING to see so savvy a reviewer as O'Connor taken in by all this. Within a week of his laudatory notice, his own paper's Henry Kamm got a Pulitzer Prize for uncovering the story of Vietnam's "boat people"; not ordinary emigrants who would prefer life elsewhere, but desperate thousands who choose a steep risk of death, by shooting, starving, or drowning, rather than stay at home under the Communists. In the same week, the *Times'* Op-Ed page ran an eloquent piece by a lawyer who has interviewed refugees from Vietnam. The great bulk of them, he wrote, left not because they would have minded a welfare state, but because the Communists have violated the most rudimentary forms of personal dignity and privacy. Family loyalty and friendship must give way to state purposes; government spies are omnipresent; individuals become mere tools of the regime. The refugees say that most who remain behind resent the new system equally, but are afraid to leave.

The problem isn't that the truth is hidden; rather that, being available, it fails to resound; that *Times* commentary can't intelligently assimilate *Times* reporting. O'Connor's respectful handling of Alpert & Co. parallels the moral deference paid by this nation, flooded with illegal immigrants, to regimes that have to shoot their subjects to keep them in their ancestral homes. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Show-and-Tell Machine: How Television Works and Works You Over
By Rose K. Goldsen
Dial Press, 427 pp., $10

WATCHING BIG BROTHER

VICTOR GOLD

"Television now holds a virtual monopoly on whatever artistic and symbolic forms have a chance to be widely shared throughout the society," writes Rose K. Goldsen. "All the images, all the tales and ballads and chants and songs and stories that come through the screen, show-and-tell aspects of social reality that then become familiar to all. . . . It is in this way that television comes to dominate social thought; less because its journalistic efforts provide a data bank of what we take to be factual truths about government and politics and civic life, and more because its total efforts monopolize the socially shared lines of sight for surveying social reality and making things familiar."

The thesis is McLuhanesque, but, unlike the great guru of the global village, Miss Goldsen deals in empirical rather than abstract evidence in her treatment of the boob-tube culture. Moreover, she sets herself apart from the great mass of television critics by cutting beneath the ideological skin to make her case against the medium's perverse monopoly of modern society's "artistic and symbolic forms."

Traditionally—if anything about television can reasonably be described as traditional—attacks on the medium have come along distinct ideological lines. This is to say that, from the Left, critics have directed their fire at entertainment programming (Newton Minow's "vast wasteland" thesis); while from the Right, conservatives have charged bias in network news (the Agnew thesis, since expanded by critics such as Edith Efron and Accuracy in Media).

Fighting this two-front war, the networks, one might think, should long ago have been put on the defensive. That they haven't, for all the declamations against "repression" and "censorship" that regularly emanate from industry spokesmen, is best evidenced by the fact that television today, in terms of both cultural impact and profit ratio, represents the most potent force in the free-enterprise sector of American society.

A classic case of divide-and-prosper: Whenever the Minowites convene on Capitol Hill to assault the banality of TV's prime-time offerings, they receive little support from the Right. Conservatives generally regard such liberal attacks as attempts to fashion commercial programming to Left-intellectual tastes —by replacing, say, *Kojak* with one-hour dissertations by John Lindsay and Patrick Murphy on the roots of crime. Conversely, conservative assaults on television news and documentaries have had little support from the Minowites. On the contrary, following Agnew's Des Moines speech, the television industry's most vocal liberal critics, including Minow and then-FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, went to the barricades to defend Messrs. Salant, Goodman, Lower, and their on-screen network performers.

AND THAT'S the way it's been, as Uncle Walter might say; until recent times, when some of the medium's reborn liberal critics, notably Daniel Schorr, have become sorely disenchanted, to put it moderately, regarding what they now perceive as the fallibility of the people who control network news. Meanwhile, conservative hackles have been raised over what the author of *The Show-and-Tell Machine* describes as the introduction of "pop psychology" into prime-time entertainment, i.e., the merchandising of trendy attitudes toward such subjects as homosexuality, marijuana, and birth control in shows like *All in the Family*, *Maude*, and *Soap*.

Yet conservative readers in the market for a straight ideological assault on the networks' political bias should be forewarned. The Goldsen thesis is that capitalism itself, in the form of the companies that sponsor these trendy divertissements, is the ultimate villain. Not the liberal ideologues but the "special-interest marketers" of mass consumer goods are responsible for *Soap* and the rest—prime-time testimony to the banality of American industry's social and/or political instincts. Why is this so? Dripping irony, Miss Goldsen explains:

"Magazines that cater to homosexual readers now blitz the Madison Avenue space-buyers and time-buyers with their computer print-outs showing how affluent the homosexual market is and what expensive tastes they indulge," she writes. "Wouldn't the television business, no less than any other business, be remiss in meeting its obligations to stockholders if it were to pass this market by? After all, times and tastes change."

Yes, and there are sponsors lined up to help the networks meet their obligations to stockholders, if not to the society. In brief, the Goldsen thesis holds that the purpose of trendy television isn't to expand Middle America's consciousness but to expand markets. This season homosexuals; next season, if the sales demographics dictate, pederasts.

The message, in McLuhanesque terms, is clear enough. If Rose Goldsen is right in her assessment of television's impact not only on adults but more importantly on young people—her critical analysis of the vaunted *Sesame Street* is devastating—then Orwell was wrong in his projection of the mechanics of a mindless totalitarian future. Big Brother won't be watching us. We'll be watching Big Brother. □

AMERICANA

VIRGINIA GENTLEMEN

RICHARD BROOKHISER

The largest still in Virginia lies only 25 miles from Washington, practically under the nose of the government. It still ferments its mash in cypress tubs and distills it in the traditional copper pipes. Like other Virginia stills, it is family-owned (the two brothers who now manage it represent the second generation); and, like other Virginia stills, it gets frequent visits from the Feds. Yet when the revenuers come, they bring cash-boxes, not axes—for, unlike all other Virginia stills, this one, the home of Virginia Gentleman bourbon, is legal.

A name like Virginia Gentleman conjures up images of periwigged an-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cestors moldering in Williamsburg churchyards. In fact, the local pedigree of the distillery's owners is considerably shorter: A. Smith Bowman Sr. owned a bus company in Indianapolis and did not take his family to the Dominion State until 1927. Once there, however, they quickly made themselves at home. With land going for $50 an acre, the elder Bowman bought 4,000 out of the classifieds; twenty years later, he and his sons Smith and DeLong added 3,200 more. They built a dairy farm, organized a hunt, and settled down to the life of gentlemen farmers.

The idea of a distillery did not occur until the repeal of Prohibition. The Bowmans had most of the ingredients on their own property: corn, for mash; white oak, for barrels; dairy trucks, for delivery. They even found that feeding the spent mash to their cows increased milk production. When Virginia went wet in 1935, the Bowmans took out a permit, and the first bottle of Virginia Gentleman appeared two years later.

SINCE THEN, most of the farm has been sold to developers; the former cornfields lie under Reston, Virginia, and the grain and the barrels must be brought in from outside. But the distillery runs much as it always has. Bourbon (named after Bourbon County, Kentucky) is confected from corn, malt, and rye. After cooking their mash, the Bowmans cool it with pond water and let it ferment for 72 hours in cypress tubs (most other distilleries have switched to steel). The mash is then piped through a four-story-high copper still—now also a rarity—and put into barrels. Bourbon barrels, like virgins, may only be used once; this is not merely a matter of taste, but a legal requirement distinguishing bourbon from other whiskies. The barrels must also be made of charred white oak. After four years of sitting in a rackhouse, they make a last trip to the bottling plant, where the completed bourbon receives the Virginia Gentleman label.

The Bowmans' operation is as small as it is traditional. The bottling plant has only one assembly line, a piece of mechanical rococo in the best Rube Goldberg tradition; normal plants might have as many as ten. The Bowmans' fermenters hold only 5,500 gallons; other outfits use tubs going up to 40,000. "When I first came here," recalls the plant manager, "I thought, My Lord, they're making whisky in teacups." When, in the summer, the pond water grows too warm to be of use in the cooling, the plant simply shuts down; the same goes for weddings and funerals, the more so since many of the employees are related—Robert E. Lee IV, vice president for sales and public relations, is Smith's brother-in-law. The entire operation consists of fifty people.

There have been other distilleries, of course, which began as family businesses; but the Bowmans' is the only one to have remained so—a fact which allows them a leeway denied their competitors. Virginia Gentleman has been the bourbon of the National Press Club since World War II; and when, five years ago, the club's president thought it would be nice if his bottles had some special markings, the Bowmans obliged with a custom label, "Gentlemen of the Press." Smith Bowman was in the Princeton class of 1927; and to every reunion since the 25th, he has brought a few dozen cases of "Gentlemen of '27," which show a pair of orange-jacketed swells being served by a waiter in a blue sweater with a large white Y on it. Smith's dog Jefferson keeps office hours and attends all board meetings.

The future of the firm is not unclouded, however. Forty-five per cent of the Bowmans' business is in Virginia, where liquor retailing is a state monopoly. As soon as the bottles roll out of the plant, the state government picks them up, and has up to sixty days to pay for them. But federal excise ($10.50 a gallon) falls due every fortnight, and so there are cash-flow problems. Government regulation has also hurt the barrel market. There are perhaps ten coopers left in the country; and OSHA recently wiped out the two the Bowmans dealt with. The bourbon market itself is not healthy; vodka has made tremendous inroads, and bourbon sales are off as much as 3 per cent (though some small outfits, like Virginia Gentleman and Wild Turkey, have managed to buck the trend).

But Virginia Gentleman's worst enemy is the morgue. Its small following (many of them personal friends of Smith and DeLong) is loyal but hard to replace; and if sales do not show some modest expansion, "the aristocrat of them all," as it bills itself, may be doomed.

The remedy conceived by vice president Lee is to explore markets in Texas and Florida. Lee, a great-grandson of the general, came to Virginia Gentleman from San Francisco, and was not prepared for the idiosyncratic atmosphere. "They put me on the board of directors, I buy a new suit, I walk into the board room, and I'm sitting next to a golden retriever." But he quickly adjusted, and has made Virginia-ness a central part of his pitch ("Virginia Whisky," the new labels proclaim). Also quality—for while other bourbons cut their proof closer and closer to the legal limit, Virginia Gentleman will be sold in Texas and Florida at 87.8. Marketing tests so far have been encouraging.

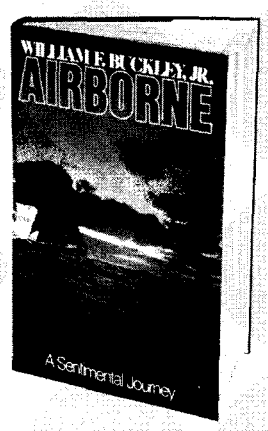
No one wants to be too successful, though, for that would mean changing the operation; and the Bowmans are happy with things the way they are. Smith sits in an office decorated with pictures of show horses and Princeton, and speaks of his business with all the careful modesty of the polite. "My wife's a pretty good cook for me, but if she had to cook for a hundred she might not be so good. It's better than kowtowing to a lot of stockholders; you can do what you want to." Bob Lee agrees. "We work hard at being small." State law prevents them from offering a drink on the premises, but they make a present of ten miniatures which I, a Methodist, pass on to friends. Judging from the reactions, one hopes they succeed. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE ARIZONA PROJECT, *by Michael Wendland (Sheed Andrews and McMeel, 276 pp., $9.95).* On the afternoon of June 2, 1976, Don Bolles, investigative reporter for the *Arizona Republic*, was fatally wounded by a bomb that had been placed in his car. The grisly execution might have been arranged by any one of a number of powerful enemies. During the preceding six years, Bolles's exposés had linked several

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here's a book that should be in your library



(You save $5.00)

Now you can get a beautiful hardcover edition of this famous best-seller (retail, $12.95) for just $7.95 if you order it direct from *us* now. You save yourself a full $5.00!

The New York *Daily News* called *Airborne* "the best book Buckley has ever written." High praise indeed, but not unwarranted, as you'll discover when you get your own copy.

It's a most unusual book, an intimate account of a 4,000-mile voyage from Florida across the Atlantic to Gibraltar in a 60-foot schooner. It describes in vivid detail the sea in all its moods (including a whacking big storm!) and the effects of thirty days and thirty nights away from the world. You meet the doughty crew and visit some uncommon ports-of-call. You get to listen in on fascinating arguments, anecdotes, ideas, opinions, sea lore. You'll also find page after page of stunning photos (many in glorious full color) including some unique candid shots of WFB, family, and friends (including some hilarious ones from the past!).

To get your own copy of this exciting book just write the word "Airborne" and your name and address on a card or piece of stationery, enclose it in an envelope, along with your check or money order for $7.95, and mail it to:

NATIONAL REVIEW
(Dept. A)
150 East 35th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

As soon as we receive your order we'll send a copy of *Airborne* to you as fast as possible. And remember, we pay all postage and handling involved (a considerable amount these days, so you save even more). So don't delay. Send for your copy of *Airborne* now, today. It's a book that really should be in your library.

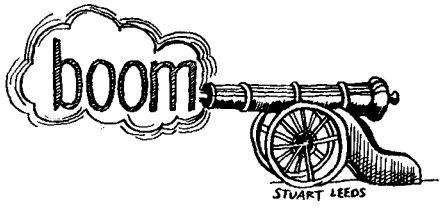
of the state's financial and political elite to their counterparts in the criminal world. Reprisal was his reward; revenge would be his legacy. Within a month of the killing, a team of journalists from across the country had descended upon Phoenix and set up headquarters in a downtown hotel. For the next six months the IRE (Investigative Reporters and Editors) pursued the tasks they had set for themselves, of locating those responsible for the murder of their colleague and continuing his investigative efforts. Wendland, a reporter for the *Detroit News*, was one of forty journalists who pieced together the sordid story of a state beset by the evils attendant on an influx of organized crime: land fraud, illegal aliens, drug trafficking, bribery, murder for hire, prostitution, gambling—all with the suggestion of collusion in high places. Bolles's killer was eventually convicted, and he named names. The IRE filed their stories exposing the seamy underside of Arizona, to the accompaniment of threats of libel suits, and their own threats of counter-suits. This insider's story, though sometimes uneven and awkward, is seldom dull.

ALAN L. MILLER

THE TRAIL OF THE FOX, *by David Irving (Dutton, 496 pp., $15).* Following close on the heels of Irving's controversial *Hitler's War*, this biography of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel is a return to the high level of scholarship the British historian had established with his previous volumes on the Second World War. Having successfully unearthed a myriad of new sources, he characterizes the Desert Fox as a "twentieth century Hannibal." Rommel was also, however, an often fallible commander who could be "dogmatic, reluctant to heed professional and superior advice, brash, immodest, and oversensitive to rebuke." Although his aggressiveness catapulted him to triumph after triumph in Africa, and in fact lured him to dangerously overextend his supply lines into Egypt, still Rommel was, in defeat, prone to excessive caution and pessimism. Yet, despite his doubts about the likelihood of the ultimate victory of the Axis armies, Rommel was nonetheless a professional soldier who treasured and valued loyalty and duty above all else. His fatal complicity in the July 1944 Hitler assassination conspiracy, says Irving—in the course of describing Rommel's chief of staff, General Hans Speidel, as a combination Judas-Barabbas figure—was tangential and innocent, the Field Marshal being an unknowing pawn in the plotters' inept game. Irving's discovery of new research material is surpassed only by the sleekness and eloquence of his prose. *The Trail of the Fox* avoids the pitfalls of most military histories and provides readable, intelligent, and fascinating commentary on its subject.

DAVID A. PIETRUSZA

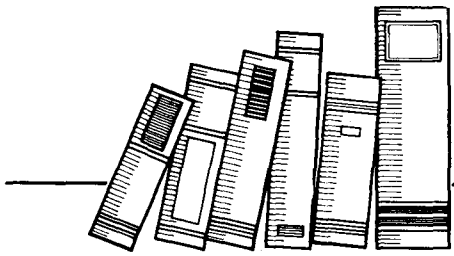
THE ANTELOPE, *by John T. Noonan Jr. (University of California, 198 pp., $10).* The plot (I use the world deliberately, for the whole thing comes off as an historical whodunit) of this beautifully written study is complex. In 1820, after the U.S. had outlawed the slave trade, a slave ship arrived off St. Augustine (in then-still-Spanish Florida) and was captured by an American revenue cutter from Georgia. It had some 280 Negroes aboard, most pirated from Spanish and Portuguese ships off Africa's west coast, though some may have been the "property" of New Englanders. (At that time, our slaving was continuing under foreign flags.) The incident touched off a saga of cupidity, larded over with sanctimonious solicitude for the blacks, which lasted eight years and ultimately involved local, state, federal, and foreign officials—two Presidents (Monroe and John Quincy Adams), assorted Secretaries of State, Attorneys General, several senators and congressmen, the Supreme Court (which ended up using the case to reaffirm the legality of slavery), and the Congress assembled. While it lasted, the Negroes were not left idle: more than half were worked to death, or died in the Georgia "fever seasons," but not before producing windfall profits for almost everybody who could possibly exploit them. Finally, in 1828, the remnant got to Liberia. Noonan painstakingly details this moral disaster with a studied understatement no doubt designed to produce in the reader a sense of outrage he never indulges himself. Except for Francis Scott Key and his friends (and even they did far less than they might have) there are no heroes here, although many years later (when he was back in Washington



as a congressman) the anti-slavery Adams was conscience-stricken enough to say, about himself and Monroe: "Is it possible that the President of the United States should be ignorant that the right of personal liberty is individual?" What Noonan makes clear is that the people involved with slavery, North or South, knew from the very beginning what they were doing, but they either would not or could not break the chains that bound them to America's "peculiar institution," mainly and ultimately because it was just too profitable. Someday, somebody (it will be John Noonan, I hope) is going to do a book like this on abortion.

J. P. MCFADDEN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Dark Horses

THE PRICE THAT must be paid by nations foolhardy enough to stand up for the United States is the unhappy theme of *Nicaragua: An Ally under Siege* (Council on American Affairs, 1716 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009; $5), an anthology put together by legislative specialist Belden Bell of the Republican Study Committee of the House of Representatives.

That the animus against our allies is especially severe among the Marxists and Third Worlders is deplorable but rational. Less comprehensible is the fact that a pronounced distaste for pro-American states is evident also in our own society, most notably among the members of our press and government. It is this anomaly which rivets the attention of contributors to the present volume, including Senator Carl Curtis of Nebraska, columnist Jeffrey St. John, Jeffrey Gayner of the Heritage Foundation, Dr. William Schneider Jr., Lt. General Wm. P. Yarborough, John J. Tierney of Catholic University, and historian Otto J. Scott.

These writers argue not only that Nicaragua is friendly to the United States, but also that in terms of basic civil liberties and economic progress for its citizens it is well in advance of other Latin nations; Nicaragua, they observe, enjoys regular elections, an opposition party, a functioning adversary press, and copious dissent from official policies at various junctures of the political process—none of which is true, e.g., of Panama. Yet anti-Communist Nicaragua is subjected to a constant bludgeoning while Panama's left-wing dictatorship is granted most-favored-nation status by the American press and government. Extremely curious.

Bad as its reputation is in this respect, Nicaragua must yield pride of place to Chile, which remains the ultimate pariah in the eyes of global Marxists and American liberals. The present regime in Chile, of course, committed the deepest treachery of them all—throwing out an incumbent Marxist government that was working assiduously to make its revolution "irreversible." The definitive work on this lugubrious subject is *Chile's Marxist Experiment*, by Robert Moss of the London *Economist* (David and Charles, London, £4.50).

For those who have bought the notion that the Chilean junta replaced a worthy "democratic" government, Moss provides extended and convincing refutation. He shows that under Salvador Allende, a Marxist minority was running roughshod over Chilean democracy, defying the will of the congress, the courts, and the majority of the people, destroying the political freedoms as well as the economic viability of the nation. The military, Moss contends, stepped in reluctantly—having gone as far as it could to maintain its traditional apolitical stance, having tried to work with the Allende government, and having been exhorted by a majority of the Chilean congress to save the nation from Marxist takeover.

HOW MOSCOW viewed all this is the subject of *The Allende Regime and Its Aftermath*, by Leon Goure and Morris Rothenberg of the University of Miami Center for International Relations. This is an excerpt from a longer study published by the Center, here reprinted by the American-Chilean Council (Suite 808, 95 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016; $1). The authors show from Soviet documents that Moscow placed immense reliance on Allende, in the belief that he was blazing a trail for Marxist electoral victories in Latin America and elsewhere, with the Communist Parties playing a central role in the resulting triumphs. (Among the curiosities of the situation was the fact that the Chilean Communist Party was a more moderate influence on Allende than were the extremist elements of his own political party, the Socialists.) This study is important not only for what it tells us about Chile, which is considerable, but also for the light it sheds on the closely linked phenomenon of Eurocommunism.

M. STANTON EVANS

69% of Tax Receipts
—to support incomes and for welfare!

No one knew.

Now, an unprecedented probing of the Federal Budget, revealing all the income-transfer programs for income maintenance. Cost: $250 billion in 1977.

First Printing:
"An Inventory of Federal Income Transfer Programs"
$12.00

by Dr. William J. Lawrence, Stephen Leeds and Pace University research team

Foreword by Dr. Leonard M. Greene, president, The Institute for Socioeconomic Studies

at your bookdealer or The Institute for Socioeconomic Studies
White Plains, N.Y. 10604
(914) 428-7400

READER'S SERVICE

HOW WELL WE SERVE YOU depends largely on whether you include your address label when you write us about your subscription. Please attach it to all correspondence. When moving, please give us 5 weeks notice, and paste your old address label here. Print new address below, including your ZIP code.

You may use this form to subscribe, renew, change your address—or for any other correspondence you may have with us. If you attach your mailing label at right, you will have helped us be both speedy and accurate.

REMEMBER
that Magazine and BULLETIN are on separate lists! If you are a subscriber to both, you must tell us to change both lists.

Address all inquiries or subscriptions to: National Review, Readers' Service, 150 E. 35th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

NAME _____
(Please print)
ADDRESS _____
(New address–if moving)
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ **PLEASE CHANGE MY BULLETIN ADDRESS ALSO** ☐ **I wish to subscribe to NATIONAL REVIEW for one year at the regular $19.00 rate. Please enter my** ☐ **new** ☐ **renewal subscription:** ☐ **payment enclosed** ☐ **bill me later.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified Advertisements

Employment Opportunities

HOW TO EARN MONEY AS A CONSULTANT (including specimen contracts) $25. Business Psychology Int'l, 890/15 National Press Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20045.

YOUR RESUME—Write it yourself! Instructions, samples, forms: $2.95. Your Resume Inc., Dept R, 359 Jersey Ave., Fairview N.J. 07022.

Investment Opportunities

CONFUSED ABOUT INVESTMENTS? For specific advice on the best investments now and the reasons why, send $5 to the Balkan Investment Report, Box 12-N, 51 Monroe Street, Rockville, Md. 20850. Refundable if *not satisfied.*

Literary

ANY SUBJECT RESEARCHED: Library of Congress, etc. $12 per hour, American Research Center, Dept. R, Box 32352, Washington, D.C. 20007.

SPY STORY FANS: "Chicago-China Puzzle." Unorthodox. Four solutions. Send $2.50 for paperback thriller to PHP, NR Box 3109.

LAST DAYS of the Catholic Church. By a Catholic, booklet of 68 pages. Send $2 to: W. F. Strojie, Route 2, Box 111-A, Sheridan, Ore. 97378.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKFINDER. Box 5842NR, High Point, N.C. 27262. Send requests.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NRE, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

BOOK PUBLISHING—manuscripts and inquiries invited. Fiction, nonfiction, and poetry. Free AUTHOR'S GUIDE TO PUBLICATION. Write: Dorrance & Company, Dept. BP, 35 Cricket Terrace, Ardmore, Pa. 19003.

OLD, USED political biographies. Free catalogue. White House Books, Box 16, Boyertown, Pa. 19512.

BOOK SEARCHING. ALL SUBJECTS. Large Stock: lists on request. Regent House, 108 N. Roselake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90026.

NOTE: Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address: Classified Department, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. Rates per insertion: 65¢ per word, minimum 10 words, plus $1.50 for box number. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 25 days before publication date.

Vacation

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET. Beresford Hotel, 635 Sutter Street, 94102; Charming, Convenient, Comfortable.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

CHICAGO AREA, attractive female, early 30's, enjoys music, dancing, skiing, tennis, theater, politics, wishes to meet male with sense of humor and compatible interests. Write NR Box 3106.

NEW YORK CITY woman, young, of European background, fluent French, German, medical field, companionable, intelligent, pleasant, warm, enjoys music, nature, good conversation, quiet times, wishes to meet gentleman between 40 and 50, for meaningful relationship. Write NR Box 3108.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured, single, widowed or divorced persons acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box AE, Swarthmore, Pa. 19081.

LONELY? Make new friends. Write NR2 Pen Pals, Box 415, Kansas City, Mo. 64141.

For Sale

RECORDS—TAPES! Discounts to 73%; all labels; no purchase obligations; newsletter; discount dividend certificates; 100% guarantees. Free details. Discount Music Club, 650 Main St., Dept. 36-0578, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801.

HARPSICHORDS. The finest instruments in the 18th cent. tradition by builder with 25 years experience. For brochure write to: Eric Herz Harpsichords, Inc., 12 Howard Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Telephone: 617-868-6772.

ETCHINGS—signed, numbered, limited edition etchings. Traditional approach. For catalogue contact Robert McCormack, 4456 Mill Run Road, Dallas, Tex. 75234.

THE ADAM SMITH NECKTIE—Now available in four colours. Features a profile of Prof. Smith, in Gold, based on the famous Tassie medallion. These ties are identical to the ones worn by Milton Friedman, F. A. von Hayek and E. J. Feulner, Jr. Please specify colour choices: Navy Blue, Burgundy, Scotch (dark) Green, and Laissez-Faire Black. $12.50 each; two for $22; four for $40, postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed. Decatur Shop, Ltd., North Adams, Mich. 49262.

CONSERVATIVE MANUFACTURER of family hosiery seeks retail and wholesale counterpart. Write NR Box 3100.

Miscellaneous

MAG-U-MESSAGE YOUR CAR or camper. Tell the world! Do-it-yourself magnetic bumper sign. New, flexible, strong material takes your message. Reuseable. Many uses for fun and safety. Now, only $5.00. Iowa residents 15¢ tax. To: Ear-Magine, Magu-Research, 5770 1st Avenue, N.W., Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52405.

SOUPS. Four all-time great homemaker recipes. Proven man-pleasers. Send $1.00 to: Soups, Box "O", Tarzana, Calif. 91356.

BLACK TOMATOES! 5 simple, superb Spanish recipes $2.00. Gourmet, 175 County Line Road, Huntington Valley, Pa. 19006.

CAN YOUR CHILD read effectively? If not, are you concerned enough to do something about it? Complete set of easy phonics-based lessons. $5.00 plus 50¢ handling. Reading System, P.O. Box 1423, Corvallis, Ore. 97330.

MAKE EXTRA MONEY. New booklet shows you how to make money in your spare time —without working. $1.50. Watson, Dept. 163, 4390 82nd Avenue, Pinellas Park, Fla. 33565.

COLLEGE DEGREES BY MAIL. Bachelors, masters, doctorates. Legal, inexpensive, fast. Free details. Dr. John Bear, 2150 Franklin Street, Dept. 69948, Oakland, Calif. 94612.

CREOSOTE—Wood preservatives and stains, barn paints. Make them from motor oil drainings or new oils. We parcel-post color additives. Moran Supply, Pine Brook, N.J. 07058.

DISCOUNT WALLCOVERINGS—Liberal Savings for Conservative Shoppers. Strahan, Schumacher, Walltex, Sanitas. Any brand. Paper, vinyl, silks, designer handprints, fabrics. Call with pattern number, rollage. Toll free: 800-245-1768. American Discount Wallcoverings.

BUMPER STICKER Printing Device. Cheap, Simple, Portable. Free Details. Bumper, P.O. Box 22791(JM), Tampa, Fla. 33622.

BLANK CARDBOARD RECORD JACKETS, 35¢. Plastic-lined inside sleeves, 15¢. Opera boxes, 78 sleeves, etc. Write: CABCO, NR 78, Box 8212, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

FREE CATALOGUE of "Distinguished Gifts." Write to G. Speck, Enterprises Dept. IBZ, 819 Alston Avenue, Gulfport, Miss. 39501.

THE CHESTERTON REVIEW is an international journal of literature and politics. For subscriptions ($6.00 per year) or a complimentary copy, write to: Chesterton Review, 1437 College Drive, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 0W6.

ESP—GREAT PARTY FUN. Sixteen professional experiments plus free self test. Success guaranteed. Only $4.00. DM Publications, P.O. Box 2031, Fort Pierce, Fla. 33450.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

POPE LEO XIII:

Capital and Labor

It is impossible to reduce civil society to one dead level. There naturally exist among mankind manifold differences of the most important kind. People differ in capacity, skill, health, strength, and unequal fortune is a necessary result of unequal condition.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KING

(Continued from page 594)

itself no special authority. But it is a part of the machinery of the Anglican international, is supported by its twenty-odd member churches, and acts as a clearing-house and point of contact, as well as serving as a negotiating instrument, as an embassy should. Its director, Canon Harry Reynolds Smythe, an Australian, has at his disposal a chapel and a fine library for study and reference, used, for example, by an American Benedictine preparing his doctorate for the Gregorian University, or by a pair of young Anglican seminarians who are spending their last year at one of the Vatican colleges. The Center's immediate interlocutors are priests on the "Anglican desk" of the Unità Christiana, who work under the inspired direction of the Dutch Cardinal Jan Willebrands, recently appointed Archbishop of Utrecht.

Of course the Church would not be the Church, individually or collectively, if caution, prudence, refined analysis, fine-toothed doubts, pained reserve, and even august negation did not surround such progress at every inching step. But the layman who has vindicated the right to judge for himself will think that rapprochement has gone quite a brisk mile. At the same time he is obliged to own that there are still considerable difficulties in the way —the problem of papal supremacy; the problem of transubstantiation, which is the doctrine that the Communion bread and wine are actually transformed into the Body and Blood of Christ; the problem of the ministry, which dangles from Leo XIII's bull, *Apostolae Curae*, of 1896, which says that in the matter of the Anglican priesthood the apostolic succession has been broken. Moreover, as Cardinal Willebrands has pointed out, many of the reconciliatory gestures are in the nature of trial balloons loosed to test the reaction of the community of the Church and have not been approved by the Church itself. And no one, certainly, can gainsay the learned doctors who ponder over the gravity of these matters. Yet the fact is that this represents the threshold, a very broad threshold but a threshold nevertheless, of reconciliation. Never has a community needed it more.

For outside the walls of the community, and even sometimes within them, the attitude of humanity seems increasingly less welcoming to what the Church is saying. And from the bleak viewpoint of this outside world, institutional Christianity seems to have lost the confidence of its traditions and come to resemble a beleaguered fortress against whose battlements the waves of indifference and unbelief beat and surge, more fearful and more destructive than the infidel hordes of the past.

It is no coincidence that present-day liturgical reformers go back to early Christian practices for their inspiration and examples, and indeed often for their justification. The early Church, persecuted, clandestine, few in the numbers of its faithful, is close in more than one way to the Church of our time. Perhaps only by being "early Christian" can the modern Church be led to renew itself and liberate its priests from their current role of spiritual professionals, like psychotherapists, to assume once again the calling in life for which their faith has destined them. For all Christians, then, this joint work among Roman Catholics and Anglicans is full of meaning.

The unity of the Church, of which reconciliation is the cherished dawn, is not for tomorrow, "not for our lifetime," as a middle-aged Anglican bishop puts it. It is a reality which to Cardinal Willebrands even "transcends all human power of organization . . . a divine gift which belongs to its mystery rather than being a product of human skill." Still, human skill is necessary. Here, within these ambitious dimensions, it is at work. □

ANOTHER DULL SPEECH?

Pick a really interesting speaker next meeting . . .

from *Catherine Babcock, Inc.* Locating good speakers is no problem when you deal with Catherine Babcock. You'll find the right speaker for your next meeting—whether it be social, business, student, civic or political—a speaker who can make your meeting come alive (and one who shares your viewpoint!). Take your choice from this roster of well-known conservatives:

* William A. Rusher
* Russell Kirk
* M. Stanton Evans
* Jeffrey Hart
* F. Reid Buckley
* Ernest van den Haag
* D. Keith Mano
* Peter P. Witonski
* David Brudnoy
* J. Daniel Mahoney
* Cornelius J. Troost
* John Kiley
* F. Clifton White
* Robert K. Dornan
* Lev Navrozov
* Geoffrey Wagner

You'll never have to worry about a dull meeting or poor attendance when you use speakers of this calibre. All you have to do is tell us the name of your organization and when your meeting is scheduled. We'll take care of the rest. Write today to:

Catherine Babcock, Inc.; 544 Southside Rd.; Virginia Beach, Va. 23451

How to Argue and Win!

Here is a clear simply written basic guide to logical thinking, showing how to spot the fallacies, the prejudices and emotionalism, the inappropriate analogies, etc., in the other fellow's argument and how to watch for and avoid the irrational in your own judgments. The author makes plain not only *how* but also *why* people resist facing the truth.

A tool for *clear thinking* as well as *convincing others.* ORDER NOW:

THE ART OF ARGUMENT, by Giles St. Aubyn $6.95 plus 75¢ handling 10-day Money-Back Guar.

EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 489-D
Buchanan, N.Y. 10511

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Holocaust

On The Right

New York, April 28—I write having seen the first two-thirds of the first night's portion of *Holocaust*, resolving not to see the balance of it.

Why *Holocaust*? If it served to galvanize the viewing public against the continuation of such practices as the Nazis were guilty of, then it is justified, and should be reshown regularly. Years ago a little-known writer-intellectual called Jack Jones wrote an essay in which he made the resonant point that there is only one way in which the world can atone for the Holocaust, and that is by pledging never again to permit such a thing to happen. After all, there is no means of undoing retroactively what the Nazis did. We profit from reminding ourselves of what happened only by resolving that such a thing shall not happen again.

But such things are happening, and have happened. Right now, in Cambodia, in proportion to the population of that country, more people are being killed and tortured than Jews under Hitler. Who has raised his voice? In round numbers, a dozen people. The President of the United States—who began his term of office by writing a letter to Sakharov deploring the suppression of dissent in the Soviet Union—steadfastly declines to comment on Cambodia; or for that matter on Cambodia's godfather, the People's Republic of China, which gives state banquets to the lord high executioner of Cambodia, Pol Pot.

It isn't only Carter. His predecessors were grimly silent when the Nigerians began their genocidal war against the Ibo tribe in the Biafran war. Shortly before, in Rwanda and Burundi, the dominant tribes all but eliminated the competition, with a thoroughness Adolf Eichmann would have envied. Is it supposed that *Holocaust*, after nine hours of television, will fire the public to protest effectively the events in Cambodia? Most American liberals (one thinks of Senator Eugene McCarthy) are still too busy deploring the Cambodian incursion in 1970—which resulted in fewer innocent Cambodians killed than innocent Lebanese were killed by the survivors of the Holocaust in the recent operation against Lebanon—to interest themselves in the wholesale massacres now going on. A decade ago the playwright Rolf Hochhuth arrested the moral attention of Broadway by writing a play asking whether the Pope had exerted himself sufficiently against Nazi policies of extermination during the Forties. Hochhuth's case against Pius XII is not historically validated—i.e., the Pope did exert himself. But what will Hochhuth's successor write, a dozen years from now, if anyone thinks to ask the question: What did *anyone* exercising temporal or moral influence do about Cambodia?

Holocaust having predictably failed on this score—the last episode will not be a stricture against permitting future genocide—what other reason is there for it? I saw the first two hours in the company of a British historian, Alistair Horne, author of the best-selling *A Savage War of Peace* on the Algerian revolt. His observation is that *Holocaust* sheds no light on the surviving question, which isn't: What did the Nazis do? Or, How did the Jews respond? But, Why did the German people acquiesce? The docu-drama gives us only a half-hour or so of the year 1935, nothing about the attitudes that crystallized in Germany after the Versailles Treaty, the inflation of the 1920s, the *aimlessness* of the Weimar Republic. If *Holocaust* does not serve to inspirit the world to take seriously its rhetoric and its international conventions on the subject of genocide, at least it might inquire as to the *reasons* for the German disaster. But nothing of this is apparent. There is, instead, the hot haste to get on with extensive treatment of the degradation, torture, and killing of Jews: and, one wonders, what is the point in a viewer's experiencing such pain?

Although one cannot dispute the idealistic motives of the producers, inevitably one wonders, sadly, at the objective causes of the event. As the reviewer in the *New York Times* said of the book version of *Holocaust*, "[It is] The War against the Jews set to melodramatic music. Is it possible? If the auto industry, airports, or the *shmatta* trade could be successfully 'researched' for mass entertainment, why not the *Holocaust*?" □

MONDAY MORNING FEVER

New York, April 17—*Saturday Night Fever*, whose star was recently celebrated on the cover of *Time* magazine and nominated as a candidate for the best actor of the year, brings us up to date on the current state of tribal rituals. What is significant, of course, is that we aren't expected to read about them in the *National Geographic*, or in a book by Margaret Mead. We are talking about *ourselves*—and what is ourselves is, by the rules of the game, okay; a little indulgent, perhaps, by old-fashioned standards; but excusably so, full of exuberance, glorious sexual energy, and buoyed by a kind of captivating fatalism.

So there is the 19-year-old school dropout, Italian second-generation; neurotic mother, unemployed, dyspeptic father, older brother a priest. "Tony" spends his days as a clerk in a paint shop, his nights cruising with four buddies, skidding through the Brooklyn metropolis, doing tire-crunching U-turns, shaking up pedestrians and other cars. The apex is Saturday night, when the action is divided between the discotheque and the parked cars. In the former, they dance all night, wild and rhythmic and captivating gyrations. In the latter, they go out regularly to copulate with the girls.

At home, Tony spends much of his leisure time staring at himself admiringly in the mirror, exactingly adjusting his shirt and the gold baubles, including a cross, that hang about his neck. He likes to surprise his Italian-speaking old grandmother in the hallway with bikini-nude poses in the style of Mr. America pumping iron. The girl he falls for works across the river in Manhattan and reports excitedly that Laurence Olivier came into her boss's office. But Tony doesn't know who Laurence Olivier is.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Father Frank the priest comes home, devastates Mum and Pop with the news that he is leaving the priesthood; indeed he has lost his faith, confiding to his kid brother Tony that when he looks at a crucifix, he sees only a man on a crossbeam. He is uncomfortable at home, and so leaves the next day, but not before giving Tony the advice that doing what he wants to do is the only way of deciding what is the right thing to do. Which is okay by Tony, because what he wants to do is dance and fornicate, and he is prepared to go through life without running the risk of having to learn who Laurence Olivier is. But here the writers of *Saturday Night Fever* figure a little upwardly mobile action is probably necessary, which is where the girl comes in whom Tony falls for, who declines to let him rape her, causing all kinds of internal confusions, which are chaotically admitted into the narrative by a gang fight in the manner of *West Side Story*, a gang-bang in the manner of the Turks routing the Armenians, and a suicidal plunge by one of the boys from the Verrazano Bridge.

Might it be said about the movie that it is amoral? Well no, not really. You see, there is like this loyalty, brotherhood, between Tony and the guys, as witness they go and knife the Barracudas in revenge for the beating up of their buddy. More: In that fight, one of the guys was cowardly—so he jumped off the bridge, proving that he was a man of conscience. More: On learning in mid-act that the girl is not "fixed," Tony withdraws—that is a mature, responsible avoidance of thoughtless fatherhood. More: When Tony is awarded the disco's dance prize, he recognizes that the competing "spic" was really superior and was being discriminated against, so, clutching his girl by the hand, Tony thrusts the cash award into the "spic's" hand on his way out to rape the girl. More: When his buddy commits suicide, does Tony just laugh it off and go back for another drink? Not our Tony: he travels the subways all night long, obviously in deep thought about the larger issues of life, and in the morning he debouches into Lower Manhattan and rings the doorbell, finally persuading the rapee-manquée that he will behave. After a conversation exchanged in irreducibly basic English, it is agreed that they will be "friends," and their hands touch, as the camera draws back, allowing the credits to fall.

YEARS AGO Robert Elliot Fitch wrote a book called *The Odyssey of the Self-Centered Self*, whose point is that over the centuries Western society has traveled from a concern for God to a concern for nature, then for science, and now for ourselves ("only you can decide what is right"). This month Professor Peter Berger of Rutgers reported that the United States, by all relevant indices, is well on its way to evolving as a totally pagan society, loosely defined as one in which all standards of behavior are self-originating, and in which transcendent truths are as unfamiliar—to a generation whose cultivated instincts are indistinguishable from the natural instincts of animals—as Laurence Olivier. *Saturday Night Fever* is as fascinating as a ritual dance by an aboriginal society, full of feathers, drum beats, blood, and organized lust. But we are looking at ourselves, and the theater is one-quarter filled with teenagers and their popcorn, and it occurs to a few that the screen should be edged in black. □

AT LAST *New York*, April 21—Thank God it's over. Concerning the vote and its aftermath, a few observations:

1. Omar Torrijos blew his top. Whether he did so because of a pent-up resentment at the billingsgate he (justifiably) and his country (unjustifiably) endured over a period of ten weeks from the floor of the Senate of the United States is a matter of conjecture. Almost certainly he was moved to spit back at those who had spit on him, that being an understandable human emotion sanctioned under one reading of the Old Testament. But more likely, the dominant reason for what he said arose from domestic political considerations. For reasons altogether strange, many Americans—who are forgiving of United States Presidents who say one thing during their election campaigns for the clear purpose of ingratiating themselves with the voters and proceed to do another thing on being elected—are angered when other chiefs of state say things clearly intended to ingratiate themselves with—in Panama's case—dissident non-voters, and having no other meaning.

What did old Omar say? That if the treaty had not been ratified, he'd have shut down the Canal within 24 hours. Right. And while the Panamanian army was at it, who knows, it might have proceeded north, conquered Texas, and given it back to the Mexicans. I am reminded of a passage from a book by the late Aloïse Heath about the rearing of her ten children. "Six-year-old Timothy [born with arrested cerebral palsy] whispers in my ear that he has something important to tell me. His message is about Communism. The Communists, he thinks I ought to know, are against us and we are against Communists, and they plan to beat us up but, man, are they going to be surprised, because they don't even *know* about Timothy Heath yet! And with modest pride, Terrible Timothy sticks one skinny little leg in the air and shows you his heavy brace and boot. 'One kick with *that* foot . . .' he grits from clenched teeth, and while you ponder the appalling fate in store for the Communists, Tim smiles and the serious little face breaks into whole galaxies of twinkles and dimples."

2. Rather more serious in its rhetorical implications was Torrijos' statement that should the Americans intervene in Panama after the year 2000 "they would find the Canal destroyed by the time they got there." That's the kind of talk calculated to inspirit Panamanians who resent Senator DeConcini's reservation. That reservation (for which I'd have voted, even while deeming it redundant) suggests that the responsibility of the United States along with Panama to keep the Canal open transcends any other consideration. Some things are best left unexplicated, and this was probably one of them. But after all, if we are pledged to keep the Canal open, we are pledged to keep the Canal open—and it makes little difference to us whether the threat to close it down arises from intervention by a foreign military force, or by a local labor union. Whether in the year 2001 Torrijos' son or grandson would stand in the way of U.S. Marines dispatched to open the Canal is problematic. That the rulers of Panama would actually destroy the Canal is the equivalent of saying that the rulers of Panama would commit national suicide. Because if the Canal were destroyed, it would be rebuilt only on terms that, quite simply, would abrogate future Panamanian sovereignty. Torrijos was guilty of rodomontade, but it is prudent to overlook it. If such a thing as he spoke of happens, it will be because of a general lapse into disorder, and we will be preoccupied at that point with keeping the anarchic passion for smashing things from destroying Boulder Dam, let alone the Panama Canal.

And finally, 3) the majority of those who fought against the treaty are honorable men and women deeply concerned for the welfare of the United States. It is a pity that the cranks among them have left us a kind of Cromwellian aftertaste—bitter, and acrimonious. They fought a good fight. One can hope that time will persuade them that it was in the national interest that they should have lost it. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. English lexicographer, lived 1660-1743
8 229 2 68 17 119 105 54 40

B. City where Samuel Johnson, Joseph Addison, and David Garrick went to grammar school
33 186 27 92 190 209 83 76 128

C. Town in Philippines, captured by Americans Nov. 23, 1944
47 147 175 130 5

D. A lot of our fiscal problems could be solved if congressmen studied this
56 82 104 111 52 123 21 45 151 7

E. A new-born infant
85 169 41 18 184 64 210

F. A Maryland suburb of Washington, D. C. (sounds like the police are after a speeder)
90 197 124 227 69 108 20 134 6 39

G. Where Navy basic training takes place
222 66 146 95 10 179 170 43

H. The position of a triad in which the root is in the bass
36 167 12 19 22 32 42 84 51 65
93 110

I. Garbage
4 78 87 96 11

J. At one time every well-dressed man wore this
120 63 71 140 38 158 30 74 181 218

K. Anonymous
125 155 73 86 115 98 13 28

L. Pirates
168 50 176 191 24 35 144 37 53 61
70

M. The bread and wine used in the Eucharist
204 172 116 131 89 67 163 156

N. City in Martin County, Ind.
183 173 16 200 152 159 219 132 228

O. I saw a crowd,/A host, of golden _____.- Wordsworth
15 46 88 137 77 117 3 25 34

P. New Jersey resort on the Atlantic
189 29 216 157 177 208 26 185 195

Q. True surname of Lillian Nordica
199 31 55 178 165 133

R. What Grant wore, even during the summer
23 57 44 138 148 206 106 162 196

S. The lowest (it beats the Dutch)
107 72 91 102 121 194 215 221 94 99

T. People who require first aid
213 153 145 79 122 226 161

U. A summary of a written work
187 149 101 224 198 166 141

V. Twelve o'clock meridian
160 109 182 150 142 126 212

W. EVA'S VIPER
171 103 112 192 201 58 164 180 223

X. Timely (adv.)
207 59 118 49 135 143 1 9 14 75
174

Y. Horse-drawn vehicles carrying military supplies
129 81 97 100 127 220 203 217 225 230

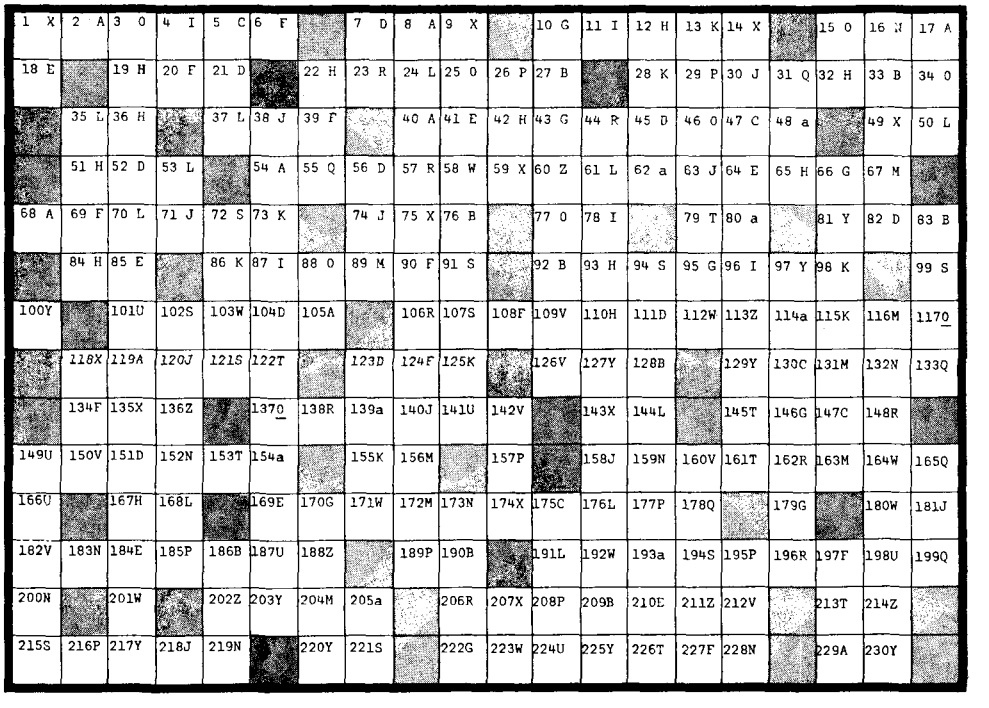
Z. Forthwith
136 202 211 214 60 113 188

a. What insomniacs are
139 193 48 62 114 205 80 154

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 608 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADVERTISEMENT

INVESTMENT QUALITY DIAMONDS VS. GOLD AND THE DOW JONES.

By John Campbell, *Freelance writer.*

I happen to believe that the best buy in "blue chips" this year is not on Wall St. It's in diamonds.

The price of high quality — cut and polished—diamonds has risen over 700% in the last ten years! (And if you'd like to see just how well diamonds have fared over the last 150 years, be sure to study the chart below).

More stable than gold, silver, stocks or any government currency.

This is because the stability of diamond prices is maintained by the world's largest private monopoly, the Diamond Syndicate. (Incidentally, even the Russians market their diamond exports through this syndicate). The policy of this Cartel has always been to maintain the price of diamonds well above the current inflation rate of the U.S. dollar; a policy that has worked effectively for over 35 years without one single significant decrease in world diamond values.

100% Stability Makes Diamonds The Ideal Collateral

Because banks and other lending institutions respect the stability of diamond values, they have continuously granted low interest loans often equal to the full replacement value of your diamonds. Also, you will find that more and more shrewd financial planners are including diamonds in the recommendations they make to their clients as part of a balanced portfolio designed to protect against the damaging effects of inflation. In a carefully balanced investment plan—which until very recently would have included only high grade bonds, federal government obligations and gold or silver—diamonds have now come into their own in a big way.

Americans are finding out what Europeans have known for years that diamonds are always a good investment that gets even better as the economic climate becomes more and more uncertain.

Highly Liquid. Highly Portable. All around the world, diamonds are actually traded as hard currency.

Diamonds are in fact the world's most compact form of wealth: The one commodity that's not only more stable than currency, it's even more portable. In World War Two, for example, many refugees from Hitler's Europe were able to escape to Switzerland and other safe havens and remain well-off or even rich only because they could carry a fortune with them in the form of a handful of diamonds. The hardest and most brilliant substance ever created by nature, a diamond is also a beautiful bartering tool that has never been, and never will be, devalued by government decree. It has proven itself for centuries to be far more reliable in good times and bad than any other commodity in history; and certainly far superior to anything merely written on paper in the form of money or stock and bond certificates.

Diamonds are an endangered species.

Diamonds are among the world's great natural resources that are being depleted at an alarming rate. Like natural gas and oil, when the earth runs out of diamonds there will be no more.

Africa is the prime source of diamonds for the entire free world; and political instability in Africa has the potential to escalate diamond prices in the same way that oil prices have responded to the tensions in the Middle East.

How, and where, to buy your diamonds for investment.

First of all, never go to a jewelry store to buy diamonds if you're buying for investment. The reason is that jewelers are in the business of selling jewelry, or adornment, rather than investment. And by the time the actual diamonds have traveled from the cutter to the jeweler's, a whole army of middlemen (importers, jobbers, wholesalers, jewelry manufacturers, etc.) have horned in and each added his substantial markup to the goods. The second rule is equally simple. Never buy mounted diamonds for investment. For two reasons. First, why pay a premium for a fancy setting that won't greatly appreciate in value? And even more important, it's much easier to judge the true quality of a diamond if it is not mounted. Since the mounting often conceals a multitude of flaws and imperfections.

Therefore, buy only loose diamonds. And make sure they conform to the highest quality standards of the G.I.A. Gemological Institute Of America; an impartial non-profit organization that is the only fully respected arbiter of diamond quality in this country. (And beware of all quality rating standards that come from organizations outside the United States).

Most important of all: To insure the highest possible quality for the lowest possible price, you should buy at even below discount prices. Direct from the cutter!

Until now, however, this would have been virtually impossible for the ordinary investor. That army of middlemen between the diamond cutter and you the buyer is almost as tight a monopoly as the diamond mining syndicate itself. No one individual investor could possibly break through the monopoly of middlemen. But at last I'm happy to be able to report to you, the single investor, that there is a way you can actually buy direct from some of the world's most respected diamond cutters; over 20,000 other individual diamond buyers have already done it. They've become members of a unique organization called The Diamond Collectors Guild Of America. It's headquartered in New York City (the diamond cutting capitol of the U.S.).

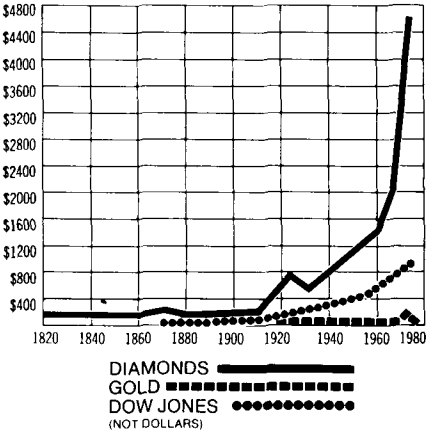
Last Year A Group Of New York's Finest Diamond Cutters Signed A Contract With The Diamond Collectors Guild Of America.

This is truly great news for anyone interested in investing in diamonds. Because it means that now, for the first time in history, you the individual diamond investor have an opportunity to invest in the finest grades of cut-and-polished diamonds direct from the cutter at a below-discount price — in fact from 25% to 50% less than is generally available to private investors. And the Guild stands behind that promise with a full money-back guarantee in writing. Furthermore, every one of these diamonds comes with a certificate of authenticity signed by one of America's top registered Gemologists, attesting to the specific qualities of the stone (exact carat weight, color, cut, clarity, etc.) and rating it according to the highest standards of the G.I.A. (Gemological Institute Of America).

The Guild also supplies you with a laser gemprint (a foolproof method of "fingerprinting" each diamond) to help you safeguard your investment.

If you should need it, the Guild even maintains a two-way market assistance program to help you liquidate the investment-quality diamonds you purchase from them, if and when you decide to sell. Every diamond they offer is of fine white quality or better. And they offer just about every carat size from 1/5 carat to 4 carats (and even larger). None fall into the imperfect range on the G.I.A. scale. And they can offer you various steps of investment-quality stones right up to the finest G.I.A. grades of flawless available anywhere in the world.

150 YEARS OF MEDIAN RETAIL PRICES FOR FINE QUALITY ONE CARAT DIAMONDS COMPARED WITH AVAILABLE GOLD PRICES AND THE DOW-JONES INDEX



For those who are serious about diamond investing, the Guild has prepared a magnificent easy to read four color portfolio which explains the subject of diamond investment (including the Guild's unique expertise) in brilliant detail. For your free copy of their portfolio, write: J. F. Fitzgerald, President, Diamond Collectors Guild Of America. 521 Fifth Ave., Dept. **NR** N.Y., N.Y. 10017. And be sure to include your name, address, zip code, telephone number (and when you can best be reached). Or call collect: (212) 986-6860. You'll find the Guild people extremely knowledgeable and polite, and they are trained to never make you feel obligated in any way.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You Don't Have To Join The Union.

It took nearly seven years, over $150,000, the courage of two prominent American commentators and the expertise of a national legal defense foundation. But an all-important fact was permanently established in a U.S. court last January.

You don't have to be a member of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) to hold a job in the broadcasting industry.

So ended the historic legal battle between broadcast commentators William F. Buckley, Jr. and M. Stanton Evans and AFTRA. It did not end easily.

AFTRA first dictated that if Buckley and Evans wished to continue broadcasting, they would have to remain members of the union. Much later in court, AFTRA conceded that it could legally require only fees and not membership. But it continued in the marketplace to compel companies with AFTRA contracts to employ only persons who are members of AFTRA "in good standing."

Finally, on January 16, 1978, AFTRA grudgingly promised to send a notice to all of its Code signatories regarding TV and radio performers that "under prevailing law such persons were not obligated to accept membership in AFTRA."

It was a significant victory for Buckley and Evans (who immediately resigned from AFTRA), for the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, which provided the funds and the legal expertise, and for rights guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution—freedom of speech and association.

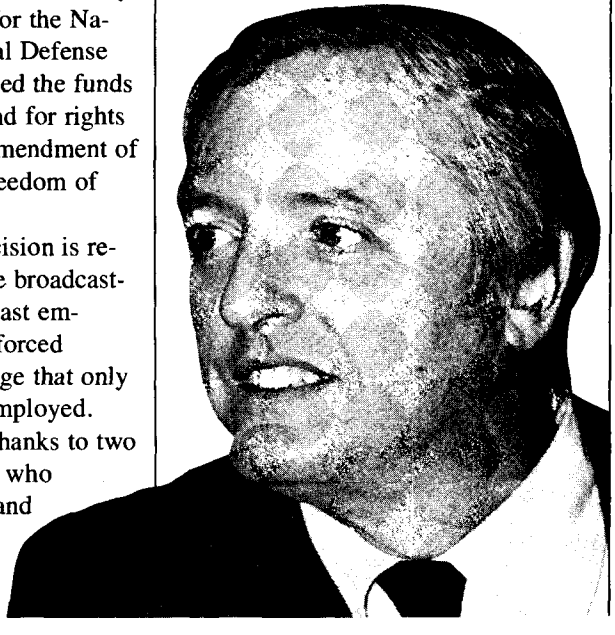
The Buckley-Evans decision is reverberating throughout the broadcasting industry. Most broadcast employers had rigorously enforced AFTRA's contract language that only union *members* may be employed.

Now the truth is out—thanks to two determined commentators who took a stand for freedom and the legal defense foundation that supported them all the way.

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation is helping everyone it can. It is currently assisting individual workers in more than 75 cases involving academic freedom, political freedom, freedom from union violence, and the right to work for government without paying a private organization for that privilege.

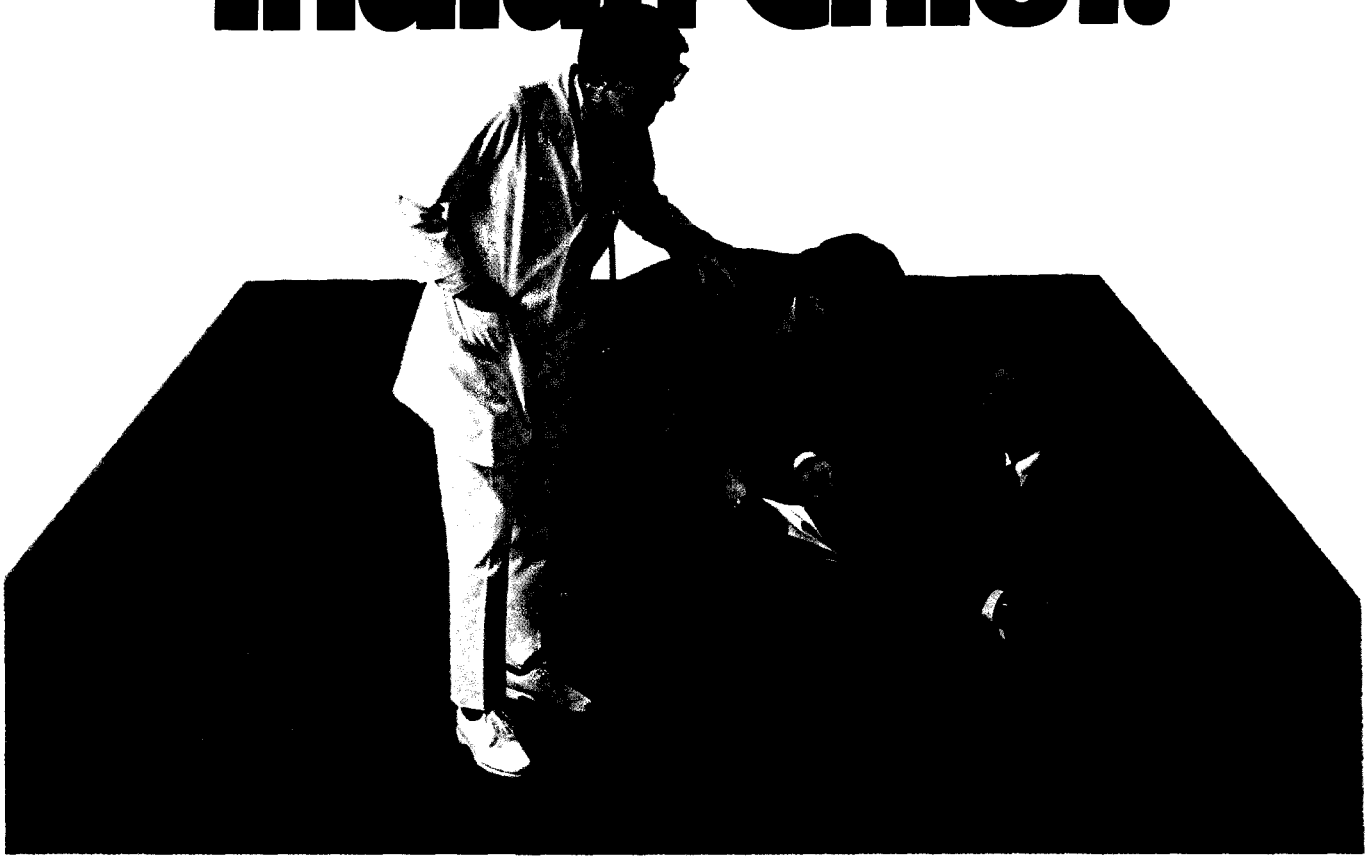
If you'd like to help prevent such abuses and protect the rights of American workers across the country, write:

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation
Suite 600
8316 Arlington Boulevard
Fairfax, Virginia 22038



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief.



You enjoy Milliken carpeting at home. Why not enjoy it in your office, too?

Patients. Clients. Customers. They have one thing in common. They all want to be reassured. And the understated elegance of Milliken business carpeting like this can do a lot to inspire confidence. And to make your office life more beautiful, too.

With Milliken you can have just the look you want—your favorite colors in rich pile in solids, or patterns. Simple, or ornate. Traditional, or modern.

And when you choose business carpeting by Milliken, you get more than the look of luxury. You get down-to-earth practicality, too, at a price you can afford.

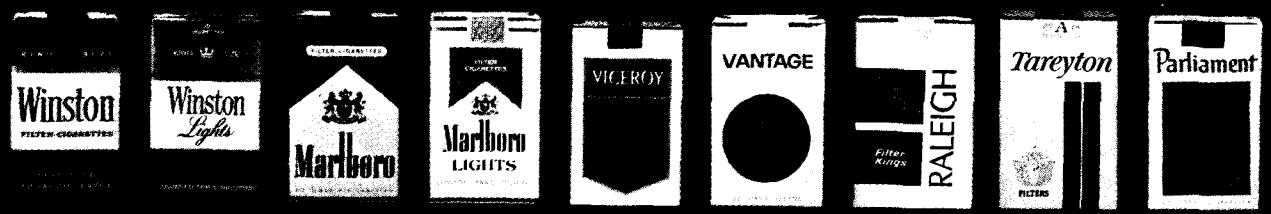
Made with today's leading no-nonsense synthetics, carpeting like this combines extraordinary long wear with easy care. It stands up to heavy traffic year after year with a resilience that's built-in, a soil-resistance that can't be beat.

A distinguished way to decorate, Milliken business carpeting is also a smart business investment. If you value a good appearance and if you value value, see your Milliken dealer soon.

MILLIKEN
CARPETS
The good life at your feet.
LaGrange, Ga. 30240

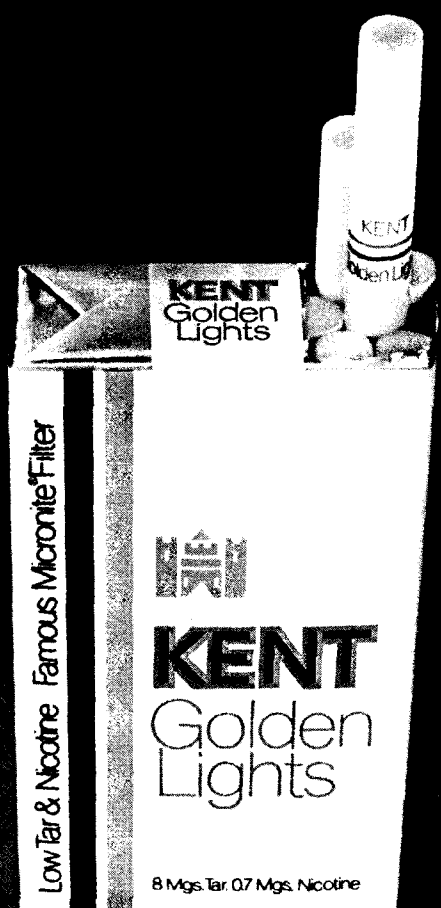
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why smoke this much tar...



19 12 17 12 16 6 16 17 10

when you can get good taste at only 8 mg tar?



Simply put,
there's as little as you can go and still [illegible] and smoking satisfaction.

Of All Brands Sold: Lowest tar, 0.5 mg "tar," 0.05 mg. nicotine.
Kent Golden Lights: Kings Regular—8 mg "tar," 0.6 mg. nicotine. Kings Menthol—8 mg. "tar," 0.7 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette FTC Report, August 1977. 100's Regular and Menthol—10 mg. "tar," 0.9 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC Method.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED